

FACULDADE DE ARQUITETURA
UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA

**Capulana in a D4S Perspective:
Identity, Tradition and Fashion-able Challenges
in the 21st century**

Doutoramento em Design

Doutorando

Sofia Vilarinho – Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade de Lisboa – Lisboa

Orientadores

Dr. Henri Christiaans – Universidade Técnica de Delft – Delft, Holanda

Dra Maria Paula Meneses – Centro Estudos Sociais – Coimbra

Tese especialmente elaborada para a obtenção do grau de doutor

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Figure i: Woman wearing capulana and using *m'siro* mask. Maputo 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

Summary

The present study focuses on the role Design for Sustainability (D4S) methodologies play in defining fashion-able practices based on *capulana*'s "moving tradition" to reinforce identity processes and cultural sustainability in Lisbon's diaspora context. Situated at the disciplinary intersections of design, sustainability, anthropology, material cultural studies, history, fashion and dress studies, this D4S approach takes on two creative and pedagogical practical applications, which simultaneously uses creative collaboration as a methodological strategy and Cultural knowledge as a tool to Co-design products that embody Affectivity and, for that matter, are driven towards Slow-fashion.

Both theoretical and practical, this approach combines historical analysis with participatory action research to further contextualize and map out the complexities of *capulana*'s dress practices performed by African tailors and emergent African women fashion designers in Maputo and Lisbon. With the underlying questions: (1) How can tailoring be re-appropriated by a 'formal' education system upgrading the knowledge and skills of African tailors in Lisbon? (2) How can the traditional way of wearing *capulana* – as a rectangle of fabric – be updated in order to reintroduce it in contemporary African sartorial?

Contributing to a space for inquiry on identity, tradition and fashion-ability, this thesis finally concludes that if we use Cultural Knowledge from the main agents in *capulana*'s innovation, we may be able to re-think the potential sustainability behind these practices and also propose results that can mirror the affirmation of African identity. *Capulana*'s Slow-fashion, Co-design and Affectivity, as core cultural concepts, are therefore essential guidelines to develop sustainable solutions around both the re-usage of the cloth – in its, more or less, traditional (un)cut forms – and the fragile chains of design, production and consumption, especially by younger generations of consumers. Hence, this work looks forward to achieve the kind of positive impact where fashion, design, creativity, innovation and sustainability can co-exist.

Keywords: *Capulana*; Design For Sustainability; Tradition; Identity; Fashion-able

Resumo

Situada no cruzamento disciplinar do design, sustentabilidade, história, antropologia, estudos de cultura material, da moda e do vestir, esta tese confirma que a *capulana* é mais que um mero pano rectangular estampado industrialmente. É a indumentária nacional através da qual as Moçambicanas preservam e, ao mesmo tempo, atualizam as suas tradições e o seu sentido de pertença, a sua *Moçambicanidade*.

O presente estudo parte duma pesquisa teórica aplicada sobre este pano, e é dividido em três fases cronológicas distintas. O passado, revelando a história da *capulana* para compreender a sua evolução no contexto das rotas comerciais do Índico. O presente, *coolhunting*, incluindo trabalho de campo e pesquisa de mercado em Maputo, situa a análise sobre a produção e o consumo da *capulana*. E o futuro, onde a *capulana fashion-able* é retratada na sua expressividade cultural e como instrumento passível de práticas de Design para a Sustentabilidade (D4S); esta última parte foi essencialmente realizada na grande Lisboa.

Esta análise conclui que em Maputo, o *status quo* do pano tradicional é reiterado diariamente pela combinação de novas formas de vestir e pensar a *capulana* num diálogo constante com a roupa “estrangeira”, produzindo estilos e modas outros. Uma prática de vestir que aqui se defende como *fashion-ability* ou a habilidade de fazer moda. Sempre permeável, versátil e adaptável, a *capulana* é objeto do que se intitula nesta tese uma “tradição dinâmica”. Uma tradição sólida, porém, não estática. Ao longo dos tempos a *capulana* tem-se ajustado às influências quotidianas e ocasionais, dinâmica e permanentemente. Até à data, seja no seu contexto original seja no da diáspora, o pano é utilizado tanto na sua forma cortada como por inteiro. Contudo, hoje em dia, a “amarração” do pano é vista pelas novas gerações como antiquada, enquanto a sua forma cortada oferece maior e melhor resposta às exigências de se “ser moderno”.

Esta pesquisa D4S, contemplou vários problemas socioculturais observados tanto em Maputo como em Lisboa. Sejam: as frágeis cadeias de design e produção; o papel dos alfaiates, as suas condições de educação (informal) e empregabilidade; como a tendência das jovens designers de moda para uma *capulana* cortada que abandona a tradicional forma de vestir o pano drapeado, enrolado e amarrado em torno do corpo.

Neste contexto, o presente estudo tem como principal objetivo encontrar metodologias D4S para capturar - tanto funcional quanto simbolicamente - a dinâmica da tradição da *capulana* e desenvolver ações que, a partir do conceito *fashion-able* e através do (re) uso criativo da *capulana*, fortaleçam a identidade e sustentabilidade cultural da Diáspora em Lisboa.

Ao identificarem-se os alfaiates Africanos e as jovens designers de moda Africanas como principais mediadores que transformam, traduzem, distorcem e modificam a significância do pano, pergunta-se: (1) como pode a moda quotidiana baseada na tradição de *capulana* contribuir para reforçar processos de identidade e a sustentabilidade cultural na diáspora? (2) como pode ser reforçado o papel do alfaiate Africano tanto em Maputo, como em Lisboa? (3) como pode o ofício de alfaiate ser reapropriado por um sistema de educação formal que atualiza os conhecimentos e habilidades dos alfaiates Africanos em Lisboa? E, finalmente (4) como pode o modo tradicional de vestir a *capulana* –

como um rectângulo de tecido – ser atualizado de forma a reintroduzi-lo no sartório contemporâneo Africano?

Com base numa metodologia teórico-prática combina-se uma análise histórica com uma pesquisa-ação-participativa para melhor contextualizar e mapear diferentes práticas atuais de vestir *capulana* e para desenvolver, posteriormente, em Lisboa dois laboratórios criativos: EPAT e *Capulanar*. Aqui, reconhecem-se os conceitos Co-design, Slow-fashion e Afetividade como conceitos culturais da *capulana*, para assim confirmar que as novas expressões criativas situadas em torno da *fashion-ability* do tecido tradicional podem ser a chave para a sustentabilidade do próprio pano.

Contribuindo para um espaço de reflexão sobre as metodologias D4S, identidade, tradição e práticas *fashion-able*, esta tese conclui que o Conhecimento Cultural é uma das dimensões que consolidam estes quatro conceitos. Em paralelo permite repensar a *ability* do pano cujos resultados espelham a identidade africana e contribuem para uma mais eficaz sustentabilidade cultural das próprias comunidades envolvidas. Este trabalho procurou, em suma, alcançar o impacto positivo onde a moda, o design, a criatividade, a inovação e a sustentabilidade podem coexistir.

Palavras-chave: *Capulana*; Design para a Sustentabilidade; Tradição; Identidade; *Fashion-able*

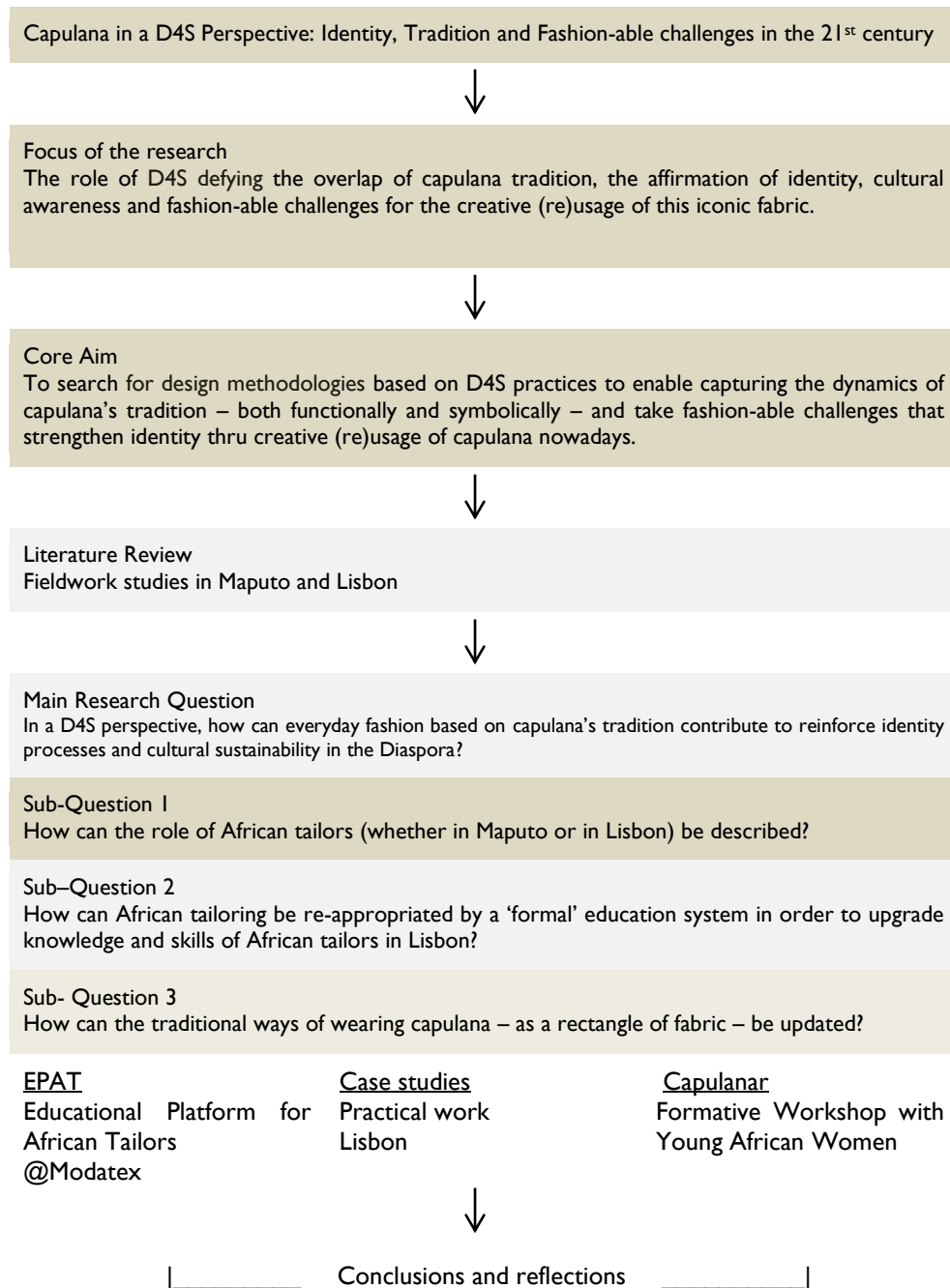


Figure ii: Research Project Diagram

Keywords:

Capulana
Design For Sustainability
Tradition
Identity
Fashion-able

Palavras chave:

Capulana
Design para a sustentabilidade
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List of Abbreviations

AIT – African Immigrant Tailors

CK – Cultural Knowledge

D4S – Design for Sustainability

EPAT – Educational Platform for African Tailors

FIL – Lisbon's International Fair

ISARC – Institute of Arts and Culture

MNT – National Costume Museum

MT – Meticaïs

YAW – Young African Women

SHC – Second-hand clothing

PD – Participatory Design

PAR – Participatory Action Research

WMO – Organization of Mozambican Women

Glossary

Merikani – is rectangle of cloth usually made of the rudest and cheapest white cotton and used by Slaves in nineteenth-century in Zanzibar. The cloths were imported from America.

Kanini – is a white cotton cloth worn by Swahili women during nineteenth-century.

Kanga – is a rectangle of pure cotton **cloth** with a border all around it, printed in bold designs and bright colours. It is as long as the span of your outstretched arms and wide enough to cover you from neck to knee, or from breast to toe. Kangas are usually bought and worn as a pair - called a "doti".

Lamba hoany – A printed cotton lamba typically featuring a proverb on the lower border of the design, identical to the kangas worn throughout eastern Africa. The lambahoany is presently the most commonly worn type of lamba. These are traditionally made of printed cotton featuring a repeated border design that encloses either a secondary pattern (often around a central medallion) or a large image depicting a pastoral scene from daily life.

Leso – same as Kanga but is worn in Kenya.

Quimão – tailored blouse made from a capulana with the same pattern as the one draped as a skirt. The arms amplitude is given by another gusset-like small rectangle that is sewn onto the armpit area. These $\frac{3}{4}$ sleeve blouses are of Indian inspiration. They have a sharp decoration with an embroidered collar trimmed with lace and small patch pockets traditionally used to put tobacco. The area around the breast can be also ornamented with beads and several pieces of gold around the neck commonly matching the earrings set.



Figure I.1: Two women from Mozambique Island. 1980. Courtesy of the photographer Jorge Almeida.

Chapter I Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the present PhD research work, setting its primary structure and contents, mainly contemplating what has led me to this dissertation: an introduction into the background of this research (I.1) several essential definitions (I.2), research and problem contextualization (I.3), research aims and objectives (I.4) followed by the research questions (I.5), and finally the research methodology (I.6).

I.1 Background

This present study about capulana started with an internship at the National Museum of Ethnology, in Lisbon, undertaken from October 15th 2007 to July 15th 2008, and consisted in researching, inventorying and computerizing the museum's collection of capulanas from a total of 17 pieces. Though apparently small, this collection offered me enough material to develop a research work mainly focused on gathering and organizing all the existing documentation about the theme (this information included the analysis of videos and photographic records from the Museum archives), meanwhile deepening the knowledge on each one of these museum-objects which data was then after inserted into the museum's inventory matrix program.

Basically, the main goal of this early research work was to get familiarity with the cloth and to better understand the different possible traditional forms of dressing it as a piece of clothing. Moreover, it was my goal to find the right space for me to timely question and reflect about African fabrics and Non-Western fashion¹ systems. Yet, the role of capulana as a source of inspiration for everyday Western and African fashions. Henceforth gathering a set of specific data and having raised several questions about this East African traditional cloth thus deserving a more fully detailed study, I presented, in February 19th 2010, my Ph.D. research project proposal at the School of Architecture of the University of Lisbon (FAUL) hereby described in the form of this current thesis: *Capulana in a D4S Perspective: Identity, Tradition and Fashion-able Challenges in the 21st century*.

I.2 State of the Art

There is a growing awareness about Africa's cultural heritage also brought up by recent studies about African Sartorial and Textiles in several regions of the continent and Internationally. However, research in African Fashion has been mainly ascribed to anthropological and sociological field-studies with limited integrative approaches from design and/or fashion Studies. This means that even though in the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st some literature has been written about African textiles in general (Allman, 2004; Arts, 2012; Barnes, 2005; Clarke, 1997; Gale and Kaur, 2002; Picton, 1995), and more recently about African fashion (Jennings, 2011 and Shaw, 2014); yet, no literature was found about Mozambican sartorial, and more specifically about the way capulana worked as tool for everyday fashion.

Data collection and bibliographic research also revealed that there are not many comprehensive studies about the cloth itself. There are some studies about

¹ I agree with Craik (1994) that Non-Western Fashion should be seen not as "opposed or complementary to Western Fashion but as a possible system that co-exists "with it's own codes and frames developed from centuries of cultural history.

textiles from other East African countries, like Tanzania for example², but specifically about capulana from Mozambique my search was narrowed to two books: 'Capulanas & Lenços' (2004) by Maria de Lourdes Torcado, Paula Roletta and Mêmê, and 'Festa na Ilha: Exposição de Bonecas' (2007) by Suzete Howana who, apart from studying capulana's history, also records the traditional ways of wrapping and tying capulana, all this exemplified with little dolls made by herself. Brazilian author Luciane Da Silva dedicates one whole chapter to this cloth in her Masters' dissertation entitled: 'Trilhas e tramas: Percursos insuspeitos dos tecidos industrializados do continente africano. A experiência da África Oriental.' (2006). Author Paula Meneses also did some research on capulanas and has written an article in 2003 'As capulanas em Moçambique – Descodificando mensagens, procurando sentido nos tecidos' and another more recent from 2015, co-authored with Signe Arnfred, 'Mozambican capulanas: Tracing histories and memories'. Arnfred had also written 'History and heritage of Mozambican capulanas' in 2010. In a 1978' Tempo magazine issue were written by Ofelia Tembe and C. Cardoso 'As capulanas têm vida e história' and 'Capulanas: Recuperação comercial de um fenómeno cultural'.

Yet, only few studies have explored the imperatives and practices of creative and economical activities and clothing production in Maputo's urban center. Moreover, if previous research into kanga has been used to consolidate further analysis on capulana, there is definitively a considerable lack of information and analysis of this fabric from a Design for Sustainability (D4S) perspective and much less there is about its immense resourcefulness and its role as an agent for change to 'reveal' identities, incite cultural processes and thus invigorate local fashions across decades. Some literature about African tailoring, sustainable fashion, co-design, and cultural knowledge was crucial to develop the second part of my research. The practical co-creative/co-design work explores the possibility to unfold co-productive communities and new means to reinforce identity, and thrive cultural sustainability. This approach implies that for a sustainable fashion its design process(es) should interconnect deeper values of participation and shared entrepreneurship that not only work on cognitive levels but also use cultural knowledge (Seifa Dei, 2010) to renew identity processes (see Fletcher, 2009; Gaimster, 2011). Some authors were at the base of this approach: Metha, 2003; Fletcher, 2009; Gaimster, 2011; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Zhao and Kuh, 2004. Because my thesis considers these design practices as newly co-creative forms of a fashion-able sense of style and identity portrayal. Here, my position is strongly inclined towards Otto Von Busch's theory defending that in order to revitalize Western fashion (and in my opinion any other Fashion, such as African) it is highly crucial to engage the community in a process of co-design involving Best Practices initiatives, where individuals / consumers must act not "simply as listeners (-) but as engaged co-authors of fashion, whom will be capable of inventing ways of responding and reacting to fashion." (2008: 33)

Core Definitions

In the outcome of the review and study of the cross-disciplinary literature around and about the subject of this thesis, several core definitions were essential to frame the grounds, both theoretical research and definition of the State of the Art, of my present academic work, herein describing:

Affectivity: the emotional bounds, competence and its continuous adaptations

² I found the following authors: Beck, 2001 and 2005; Clark, 2005; Faber, 2010; Fair, 2004; Hamid, 1996; McCurdy, 2006; Parkin, 2004; Ressler, 2012; Spring, 2013; Yahya-Othman, 1997; Zawawi, 2005.

developed by the user towards the object, so that the latter becomes ultimately timeless. Usually this affection is strongly rendered by the many memories associated to each object or to the accrued value of being inherited as a precious good that passes on from generation to generation, thus undoubtedly worthy of a much bigger affective value. A special meaning is associated with the product or can be used to inspire deeper attachment with a designed object.

African Tailor: like in Europe, in Southeast Africa tailoring is traditionally a masculine profession. Normally, a young boy starts learning the profession throughout his childhood and only after many years of practice he will then become a master tailor. However, comparatively, what we call a tailor in the West does not stand for what it means, at least, in Mozambique. Linguistically they may sound the same but anthropologically they mean a totally different cultural conception of the professional activity. Whereas a traditional tailor in West is commonly known for doing fitted cut menswear, in Mozambique (as in Africa in general) traditional tailor's craftsmanship is much more like what we could call in the West a dressmaker. One who does menwear and womenswear making traditional African clothing – mainly West-African style (like embroidered like boubous³, kaftans⁴ or the *taille-basse*⁵) and tailor-made ensembles in colourful wax-print cloth – or by (des)constructing and (re)arranging of second-hand-clothing (hereinafter SHC). In fact, despite most African tailors can make a regular man's suit, their know-how and skills are far more oriented for dressmaking, since traditional Western tailoring asks for a set of technical skills that most traditional African tailors may not be fully mastered in. This means that there is a preference over fitted-cut dressmaking rather than draping techniques whether these would be more Western or African oriented.

Capulana: used in Mozambique as a rectangle length of cotton cloth usually measuring between 1.70 and 1.90 m (length) and 1.10 m (width). According to historical data it has its origins around the second half of the 19th century. With similarities with *Kanga* from Zanzibar, it is machine printed in bright colours and has the specific design: a bold central design, framed by a solid border (a double or four-sided border) with distinctive designs that may be a repetition of the central motif but may also be a different one. Some capulanas also have a printed message while others don't. As subject of everyday fashion and elite fashion (whether Western or Non-Western) this rectangle of cloth can be worn keeping its more traditional form (where it fits the body with its loose drape) or turning to fit more modern silhouettes (as a piece of clothing). This cloth is very versatile and can be used in many different situations of the daily life: as a towel, as tablecloths, as curtains, as bed sheets, as a wrap if it rains, as shoulder cloths, baby slings, or any other situation that justifies its use.

Co-design: In short means designing with others. This approach relies on the

³ A *boubou* (or *Bubu*) consists of a wide tunic mainly used by men in West Africa and to a lesser extent in North Africa of Islamic culture. It is generally made in cotton or silk in a rectangular shape with an opening on the center-front normally embroidered.

⁴ The *caftan* (or *Kaftan*) is a long, coat-like garment, or overdress, usually reaching the ankles, fastening with a long sash and with extra long sleeves. It can be made of different materials: silk, wool, cotton or cashmere. It's origin dates back to ancient Mesopotamia and for centuries that it has been worn by higher and middle class men throughout eastern Mediterranean countries, but in many other cultures like in West Africa kaftans are worn both by men and women.

⁵ *Taille basse* is a typical *tailleur*-like two-piece ensemble from Senegal normally composed by a long narrow skirt and a tight bodice fully decorated at the top. Usually both pieces are made of the same wax-print fabric. Often to complement their attire women use a gorgeous turban made of the same cloth as the ensemble.

collaboration between multi-stakeholders and designers to collectively create an effective design outcome. Using it as a methodological strategy that results in a greater positive impact on individuals and society alike, since proven to be far more important for all design, creativity and innovation to co-exist sustainably.

Coolhunting: the free on-line dictionary ⁶ defines coolhunting as “...the observation of emerging trends and styles, usually involving street fashion, as a form of market research.” The author Pedro Pedroni (2010: 1), whose currently research and writing is devoted to explore coolhunting and its role in the cultural production, highlights that coolhunting “implies that trend research is an intuitive ‘hunt’ for the incipient signals in fashion that reflects in consumer lifestyles”. In the context of my research this methodology became a necessary approach to analyse the particularities around local fashion and social dress practices⁷ in Maputo, especially those involving SHC and capulana. Moreover, it allowed me to rectify a prevailing Eurocentric discourse in fashion and to explore reflection about alternative non-Western fashion systems⁸. The fieldtrip to Maputo and the use of this research methodology also allowed me to explore how capulana becomes part of local fashion and clothing practices in such a specific cultural fashion and clothing hub.

Culture: is taken here as a system of knowledge norms, values and material objects acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving. Because it is a pattern of behaviours that is learned, and not inherited “culture can undergo additions, deletions, or modifications across generations” (Spencer-Oatey, 2012: 14). Moreover as stated in the 2010 agenda 21st Culture, it is mandatory “the inclusion of Culture in the sustainable development model since culture ultimately shapes what we mean by development and determines how people act in the world”⁹. Concerning specifically the fashion field, culture influences the way we dress the body and we wish to express our behaviours and cultural affiliation.

Cultural knowledge (CK): is all that is known that makes an individual belong to a particular culture. Or with Seifa Dei (2010, xiii) “Cultural knowledge speaks to the dynamics of cultures, a significance of rootedness in place, history and culture.” In the particular context of this research about capulana, is the knowledge that is bequeathed through oral tradition (song, story, art, language, dance) from generation to generation, embodying and preserving the relationship with the indigenous place and, here, the Mozambican tradition, culture and identity. An important element of the intellectual and cultural heritage. It reflects social, political and historical identity and it may contribute significantly to cultural sustainability by “positioning identity” and allowing “healing and reconnection”. 4th pillar of Sustainability, CK is also used (in this research) as a tool to think about sustainable design methods for product development, and, more importantly, it is a resource to integrate (self) cultural awareness into co-learning/co-creative design processes. Carefully considered to avoid biased results, and (still with Sefa Dei, idem) to highlight the relevance of articulating multiple systems of knowing as a way to challenge the dominance of Eurocentric ways of knowing.

⁶ See: <http://www.tfode.com>

⁷ Here referring to everyday fashion / clothing, garments and apparel.

⁸ The phenomenon of fashion has been theorized as a Western modernist project. All major fashion cities such as Paris, Milan, London, New York and Tokyo are included in the *map* of Western fashion system. As proposed by Roland Barthes (1967) and Georg Simmel (1957) if Western fashion system is based on changing cycles each season.

⁹ http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/documents/en/zz_culture4pillarsd_eng.pdf

Cultural Sustainability: Is used here (after the Agenda 21st Culture) in the actual sense that interconnects both concepts (culture and sustainability) categorizing the importance of the cultural dimension in its own sphere and recognition, along the three social, economical and environmental pillars, for preserving material any cultural heritage, practices and beliefs as one genuine entity. The importance of cultural sustainability lies under the influence of cultural knowledge and its intrinsic identity positioning, healing and reconnection.

Design for Sustainability (D4S): A product innovation strategy which takes environmental and social concerns as key elements by incorporating ecological and sociological factors into product development throughout the lifecycle of a same product, involving the whole chain of supply, and with respect to all socio-economic surroundings – from the local community for a small company, to the global market for a transnational company (Diehl and Brezet, 2004; Crul and Diehl, 2006). Culture was finally added by the agenda 21st Culture as a fourth pillar to the original D4S scheme.

Clothing Identity: Identity consists of people's answers to the question: 'This is who I am'. Concerning apparel, identity is not only related to the appearance of individuals at public presentation as an aesthetic code but also to an embodied process to conceive and express individual differentiation through clothing practices (Davis, 1992). Yet, [national] clothing identity is about ideologies and about conscious or unconscious beliefs, attitudes, habits, feelings and assumptions (Kawamura, 2004).

Everyday Fashion: Following Jennifer Craik (1994, xix), I agree that the term of fashion should be re-evaluated as "Fashion is commonly confined to the capitalist Western elite fashion (therefore haute couture or high elite designer)". My biggest interest is focused on what Craik (idem: xi) defends as "everyday fashion (clothing behaviour in general/ a sense of fashionability)" and the way these everyday fashion(s) – clothing, garments and apparel- are a result of re-work tradition not opposing the traditional but renewing it constantly and daily. Everyday Fashion can be so empowering that can actually inspire high elite/contemporary fashion whether locally (in Maputo) or at International Western runways.

Fashionable Clothing: Is about trends, change and "only appearing in socially mobile societies" (Baudrillard, 1981: 49). It is a model of consumption where a person is dressing or behaving according to the current international (likely Western capitalist societies) trends. Usually a fashionable costumer only wear what is in vogue thus connected to the seasonal ephemeral now (Breward, 1995; Fletcher, 2008). It is fashion as "opposed to clothing and dress with more anthropological connotations" (Barnard, 2013:158). In his book 'fashion-ology,' author Kawaruma distinguishes fashion from clothing, garments and apparel (dress practices) because fashion is an intangible object and the other two forms are tangible ones. In his own words "...trying to define a particular item of clothing as fashion is futile because fashion is not a material product but a symbolic product which as no content or substance by /in itself." (2013: 2). "Fashion is about change and the illusion of novelty" (idem: 73). Also Flugel's (1930: 129-30) perspective adds an analysis about time and space, referring to fashionable as modish costume that "changes very rapidly in time (-) but varies comparatively little in space" (Barnard, 2002:13).

Fashion-able: 'I'm able to fashion' is the ideology that justifies the model of production and consumption layered by processes of creativity where the users – or the participants of a co-design process – are engaged as co-authors of fashion and clothing. The users/participants in a fashion-able process will be capable of inventing ways of responding and reacting to high/elite fashion. In opposition to the signification of fashionable, a new line of practice that takes fashion out of the context of what is more or less passive ready-to-wear consumption (Von Busch, 2008). The user/participant is more tuned into 'doing' – as he/she is closely engaged in the process of 'being' and 'becoming' (Simmel, 1957) creative – than frivolously connected with the mere act of 'having'. Additionally, in my point of view, a fashion-able process shows precisely how objects can become personalized (adding Identity) and lead to a transformation of the Self. A major key to this same ability is the extent to which methods of production and consumption can be more sustainable in their execution and feed into models of social equity.

Slow- fashion: The expression "slow fashion" was coined in a 2007 article by Kate Fletcher published in the ecological British Journal "The ecologist"¹⁰. This concept emerges as an eco-friendly movement that is gaining more voice. However it will not replace fast-fashion industry. Usually slow-fashion brands choose to produce in real time, according to the methodology 'just in time' to produce only what has been sold by previous order or that is expected to sell shortly, in this way reducing the cost of storage, handling, loading and unloading of stock. It is socially responsible because it makes use of local materials, suppliers and producers while including traditional skills and knowledge from artisans or specific communities of craftsmen.

Sustainable Development: The publication of Our Common Future in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and Development¹¹, often referred to as Brundtland Report, polarized the term sustainable development, which it described as a type of development that would enable us to meet our present needs in ways that would not jeopardize the potential of future generations to meet their needs. In this research I take this concept to develop a design approach where capulana's clothing practices have a role in positive change, not only in terms of environment (natural) but also (social) equity, (cultural) identity and improvement of living conditions for those in need (economy).

Traditional Dress: 'traditional dress' (also called dress, costume, anti-fashion adornment) as such is associated with everything sartorial handcrafted in the non-Western world forasmuch as 'Fashion' is believed to prevail in the West (Simmel, 1957; Flugel, 1930; Polhemus and Procter, 1978). Taking a Eurocentric hegemonic fashion discourse, traditional dress would be about non-changing habits preserved by local behaviors and symbolic meanings with its origins strongly bonded to the past. According to Simmel (1957) this non-changing dress (or 'fixed' according to Flugel, 1930:129) can't be called as fashion, as they are ascribed to 'primitive societies' [backward societies] in which 'socializing impulse' is more powerfully developed than the 'differentiating impulse' (Barnard, 2002:13). From a dynamic non-Eurocentric point of view (which I always try to take in this research), tradition develops for an endless and repetitive cycle of change. And this slow changing movement is normally intrinsically related with core issues of identity

¹⁰ For more reading about slow-fashion see the article on the on-line magazine *Fashionedge*: <https://fashionhedge.com/what-is-ethical-fashion/>

¹¹ Available on this link: <http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf>

strengthening, (sustainable) production and consumption. (Fletcher, 2008; von Busch, 2008; Kopytoff, 1986, Ehrenfeld, 2008; Davis, 1992; Robertson, 2012)

1.3 Research and problem contextualization

1.3.1 Research Contextualization

Having as focus the role of Design For Sustainability challenging the overlap of capulana tradition, the strengthen of African identity, cultural awareness and fashion-able challenges for the creative (re)usage of this iconic fabric, I chose the city of Maputo as a source for data and Lisbon to develop the practical work with the African immigrant community. But before starting with the practical work, I first found crucial to develop a historical survey about capulana that would allow me to better understand capulana's tradition and to develop a survey about capulana in different periods and contexts. Therefore, the study should include an analysis about capulana history and its intrinsic connection with the Indian Ocean textile and clothing trading. My preliminary research called for a visual analysis about the evolution of capulana's pattern designs over the 20th century; an overview of the Mozambican fashion production in a post-colonial context; as well as inclusion and effects of secondhand clothing markets along the last decades of the 20th century.

At last I present a close insight in the contemporaneity surrounding the way capulana has been slowly, but steadily, appropriated by African youth culture and how this phenomenon is actually included in, used by and reflected in local fashion by tailors, fashion designers and customers from Maputo.

When arriving to Maputo, my intention was not only to develop a semi anthropological study but to also develop some practical work with the emergent fashion designers. I contacted the Design School ISARC - Institute of Arts and Culture. However, I realised that I could not have access to the class of emergent fashion designers at ISARC and that against my first expectations my research topic could not be included in the school's agenda. I decided then to open a call for emergent designers for a workshop about capulana, to find out later this would be the base for the future Capulana creative laboratory in Lisbon. On the other side, as I interviewed several Mozambican fashion designers I realised that tailors were actually the ones designers trust with the cut and sewing of capulanas used in their collections. Concluding that tailors are as important as fashion designers in integrating capulana in everyday fashion, I then chose to also include tailoring practices in my fieldwork and study.

The historical survey and fieldwork study results have shown me that there is so much to learn about the meaning and reading of this Mozambican piece of fabric, herein allowing me to identify and advance the importance of three specific cultural concepts embedded in the historical usage as well as in the (re)usage of capulana. This three core concepts of Co-design, Slow-fashion and Affectivity are henceforth taken in my thesis as possible guidelines for the development of creative empirical sustainable design processes, greatly justified by the narratives of Anglo-European origin of Fuad-Luke (2009); Fletcher (2008) and Ehrenfeld (2008) and among these mainly by Fletcher when referring to this key concepts for the development of sustainable solutions for clothing production. In doing so, part of my present work asserts a space for inquiry of African creative potential, suggesting capulana and its cultural concepts as a source of inspiration and a (visual-creative) tool from which (Mozambican) emergent designers and African tailors can 'theorize back' to the Western fashion system.

As a designer, a researcher and a trainer my main mission was to search how

design methodologies based on a D4S practices may revitalize capulana's dress traditions¹² and take fashion-able actions that could strengthen identity and challenge the creative (re)usage of capulana, in urban cosmopolitan contexts (such as Lisbon) nowadays.

In order to avoid potential biased insights and results (based on – my own – involuntary Eurocentric hegemonic fashion discourses) and because of the significant importance of Cultural Knowledge (hereinafter CK) in developing culturally situated design products, I decided to undertake practical part of the project in collaboration with two distinctive groups of participants living in Lisbon's district¹³: one group of African Tailors (for the Educational Platform for African Tailors - EPAT program¹⁴) and the group of Young African Woman (for the Capulanar workshop¹⁵). Hence, with this choice, my intention was to find participants that has an affection/liaison with the cloth (whether they would be Mozambicans or not) and also to support both my findings and conclusions in the actual way those participants may recur to their CK about capulana to develop results that favour Fashion-able challenges for the creative (re)usage of the capulana fabric in a way to upgrade/innovate capulana's tradition, meanwhile strengthening identity processes, cultural awareness and improve livelihood in a diaspora context.

1.3.2. Problem Contextualization

Some underlying questions need to be discussed in order to identify the main issues concerning the material-cultural nature embodying capulana. The lack of research material about the historical context in which capulana has emerged was a critical obstacle. Nonetheless, challenging me to observe how capulana is used nowadays in Maputo, and highlight why African tailors and generation of emergent Mozambican fashion designers deserve special attention addressing African everyday fashion production and consumption both locally in Maputo and on a Diaspora Context in Lisbon.

How is capulana used in everyday fashion in Maputo?

When analysing nowadays Maputo's urban cross-cultural creativity around sartorial, one cannot miss how much the production and consumption of capulana has been affected (or rather revisited) by many asymmetries¹⁶ generated within the social, political, economical, and even cultural context of colonial and post-

¹² With this, I imply, not only the tradition of wearing uncut rectangle of fabric as figures in section 2.4 in Chapter 2 may well illustrate. But also tailored cut-fitted forms.

¹³ Because Lisbon is a cosmopolitan city since long enriched by its vibrant African community; and, because of the possibility of opening a new perspective on the importance of such communities for the (re)construction of new identities in the Diaspora context, I decided to develop these creative laboratories with the African immigrant community, and further on to develop a pilot project that could be first locally applied and adjusted in Mozambique, and thereafter possibly in other regions of Africa.

¹⁴ EPAT (Education Platform for African Tailors) is the educational training program developed by me. It was specially created for resident/immigrant African tailors and it took place at the Professional Trade School MODATEX, in Lisbon. The first edition started on November 2011 to December 2012. For further developments on this topic please consult chapter 6/ Action research and community of practice. Case Study I- Training program co-designed with and for the African immigrant tailors in Lisbon.

¹⁵ Capulanar happened in Lisbon at my own atelier, with a group of 4 young African women (3 emergent African fashion designers and 1 emergent Mozambican artist), during three months from 25th July to 27th September 2013.

¹⁶ By 'asymmetries' I mean not only the 'ins' and 'outs' of capulana's usage during colonial dominance, but also the way these 'ins and outs' were translated on post-colonial times; this meaning that some people use it as a sign of *Africanitude*, while others refuse to wear it to prevail their sense of 'Eternity' until it gained its statute as a symbol of *Mozambiqueeness*.

colonial Mozambique. This rectangular cloth embedded in tradition and contemporaneity is basis of countless fashion claims across Eastern Africa, and professionals (like fashion designers and tailors as well as consumers) are recreating the cloth from a combination of Western cut models and local aesthetics. A prominent African creativity that embodies, in itself, 'identities built by multiple layers' ¹⁷.

Wearing /using capulana creatively

Younger generations (including emergent fashion designers) both in Maputo and in Lisbon are questioning the purpose and meaning of wearing capulana and, above all, the way it is still traditionally worn, i.e. one or two capulanas used as skirt wrapped-around-the-body and an headscarf in a different capulana pattern. Meanwhile, tailoring fitted dresses and other forms of clothing made of capulana have emerged ¹⁸ as one of the most common responses to this apparent generation gap as to the will of being 'modern' ¹⁹ and breaking with tradition. Apparently, the once post-colonial empowering cloth has met restrictive limitations in its own original material (uncut) form of wrapping (rather than fitting) the body silhouette, and for that same reason is not appreciated as fashionable by youngsters as a Western-like-cut capulana dress can be. On the other side younger generations don't want to look like in grandma's past. They want to look up to date and into the future. But what is the future of capulana?

I observed that many emergent fashion designers working whether in Mozambique or Lisbon are reinventing new forms of using capulana in a creative effort to reintroduce the meaningfulness attached to this national item of sartorial as a more dynamic garment for the modern Mozambican youth²⁰. This designing and crafty creativity has henceforth brought capulana away from its traditional forms, and the national cloth has been (re)translated into its many other possibly fashionable tailored fitted shapes: skirts, suits, dresses, etc. Yet, this creative response is apparently a compromising answer to the younger generations, moreover challenging the job of those involved in transforming the structural and natural function of the cloth. The newly designed and tailored clothing forms are (de)constructively away from the uncut capulana traditionally worn by indigenous people in East African coast. Originally, these were loose shape garments made from colourful fabric rectangles draped and layered wrap-around-the-body in a specific way and order meant to identify which ethnical roots; geographical origin/provenance; social status; or even a certain group affiliation its wearer belongs to. Eventually, like any other iconic piece of sartorial, capulana's perpetual feature is to convey to embodiment and communication verbally and non-verbally,

¹⁷ For an important reflection on this particular topic consult Rovine (2013) in her work about African designers: *African fashion from dual directions: Representing self and other*. In M. Vacarella & J. L. Foltyn (Eds.), *Fashion-Wise* Oxford, UK: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 259-266.

¹⁸ Western fashions and its dynamic silhouettes became far more prevalent and popular among Mozambican youth than the uncut traditional *capulana* nowadays seemingly pushed back to its folk-roots since commonly considered by youngsters as old school or, if mandatory, only occasionally worn as ceremonial Dress.

¹⁹ In her 2004 article *Putting on a pano and dancing like our grandparents: Nation and dress in late colonial Luanda*, Moorman alludes to the fact that in Africa the 'May of 68' brought this notion of being 'modern' based on the construction of the image of the West reinterpreted by the African style. This practice was enhanced up throughout the decades and today the *African Modern* is depicted by an unique style revisited by precepts intrinsic to *Being African*, now built upon the originality of mixing local and international clothing, thus proclaiming (even in a rather more political sense) the cosmopolitanism of *Africanitude*.

²⁰ This is not a local phenomenon about *capulana* but about African traditional clothing in general as Rovine points out that consumer practices of African Youth culture are strongly oriented towards International styles as a sign of achieving a 'perpetual future' (2006:134).

visually and emotionally.

One may ask, however, if such meaningfulness is getting lost or diluting by younger generations and their newly sense of modernity. This thesis aims to prove otherwise, that such meaningfulness may be perpetuated by new co-creative approaches.

Production/the role of tailors

In Maputo, tailors are key-players in reinventing capulana. They have the cultural know-how to reshape capulana into new forms of clothing. This assertion is reinforced by reading on Grabski and more particularly a study about fashion production in Dakar, where she states that tailors have an important role in local clothing craftsmanship and business, reinforcing that usually after their visual experiences they “not only draw information and inspiration from urban centers, they are also important agents in shaping it” (2009: 220). This endogenous knowledge also acts as a cultural (re)generator,²¹ even if most policy-makers and civil society practitioners²² still ought to recognize those craftsmen’s role as active participants in Maputo’s urban creativity and African fashion in general. So little is this recognition in fact, that there is still a considerable lack of effective support from official producers (i.e. public officials and policy-makers) to improve tailors’ working conditions. Actually, as this research identified, the majority of these tailors have lack of proper schooling and employment facing hard living and working conditions. Furthermore, some authors who have presented a vision about other African contexts identify similar gaps to the ones I was able to find during my fieldwork studies (in Maputo and Lisbon). For example, authors like Jawando, Samuel and Odunaike (2012) doing research among tailors in the area of Oyo State (Nigeria) have noted that:

“Government should support the traditional apprenticeship system by ensuring that apprentices under this system can compete favourably with the modern apprenticeship system. This can be done by conducting skill tests for apprentices to maintain standards; Atiba local government should organize extra-mural lesson for the practitioners, especially the apprentice so as to improve their level of education as many of them only had first school leaving certificates.” (Jawando & al, 2012: 185).

Many times, migration has hardly been the answer for empowering tailors with the kind of professional knowledge, education and the working conditions they hope for. But as I could confirm with my fieldwork in Lisbon (chapter 5), most of these men though strongly skilled cannot make a living from tailoring, nor become employed. They still have no access to education and most of them work in civil construction or other jobs not at all related to their original training.

I.4. Research aims

Following the core aim of my research that looks for D4S methodologies to enable capturing the dynamics of traditions – both functionally and symbolically – and also take actions based on fashion-able challenges that strengthen identity and

²¹ I stress the importance of African tailors who de facto shape urban experiences – visually incrementing practices – fundamental to the comprehension of sartorial culture whilst alluding to complex intersections between local and global market variations.

²² With *practitioners* I mean those who work within NGOs and in bilateral development cooperation.

reinforce the creative reuse of capulana nowadays, other specific goals arose along the research and the fieldwork:

- To present a considerable collection of data necessary to write about the history and design evolution of capulana throughout the 20th century;
- To highlight the cloth's intrinsic symbolic value when it communicates an original story behind its creation; framing its particular mechanisms in a very specific social-cultural context, rituals and dress practices contextualized over time within these East African region(s);
- To gather data about Maputo's youth consumer behaviour towards everyday fashion done by tailors and emergent fashion designers; as well as the way capulana has been used in daily life, aware of the expressive trends emerging from the street;
- To gather in Lisbon information about emergent Mozambican/African fashion designers and African tailors in order to develop a series of workshops (or creative laboratories) with the groups of agents for capulana's renovation.
- To empower tailors' technical knowledge, so that they could play a similar mediating role, bringing renewed élan and identity to their immigrant community, improve livelihood, social equity.
- To explore how the traditional way of wearing capulana - as a rectangle of fabric – can be updated thru collaborative and educational design processes with YAW – Young African Women (emergent Fashion designers), to reintroduce this cloth as a contemporary idiosyncratic piece of African sartorial that promotes identity strengthen and cultural vitality amongst Mozambican younger generations.

1.5. Research questions and sub-questions

The research project described in this thesis tries to answer the main question: In a D4S perspective, how can everyday fashion based on capulana's tradition contribute to reinforce identity processes and cultural sustainability in the Diaspora?

Assuming that in capulana's tradition, including both uncut and tailored-cut forms, emergent fashion designers and African tailors are considered to be the main agents that contributed (and still contribute) to the development of this cloth designs and fashions across decades, other specific sub-questions came up naturally throughout the different phases of the fieldwork as indicated below.

Concerning the focus group of African tailors two sub-questions emerged:

1. How can the role of African tailors (whether in Maputo or in Lisbon) be described?
2. How can African tailoring be re-appropriated by a 'formal' education system in order to upgrade knowledge and skills of African tailors in Lisbon?

Concerning the second focus group 'Young African Women' one more sub-question emerged:

3. How can the traditional ways of wearing capulana – as a rectangle of fabric – be updated?

Hence two fundamental assumptions ground the present thesis:

- By developing a co-design educational program with the African tailors and by

using capulana's cultural concepts at the centre of these practices, I may be able to strengthen fragile chains of capulana based-clothing production, at the same time empowering tailors' knowledge and skills that enable them to build their identity (and awareness of the community's identity), improve livelihood and social equity. (Sub-questions 1 and 2)

- Legitimizing the position that capulana-based-clothing has in the realm of everyday fashion is a way to help strengthening identity and support sustainability. Emergent fashion designers should be aware of the values intrinsic to capulana's cultural concepts because they may be the guide to develop D4S solutions for the actual generation gaps that exist around capulana's clothing tradition. (Sub-question 3)

I.6. Project's Research Methodologies

This section briefly overviews the research approach framing this thesis, as well as the methods used for data collection and analysis and the methodology applied throughout the practical work (creative laboratories) developed with the two focus groups from the African diaspora context resident in Lisbon.

The study departs from a contextual historical analysis of the cloth herein aiming to expose and map out the complexities of creative fashion production in urban centers like Maputo and Lisbon, and ends with the results of two creative laboratories implemented in Lisbon, to promote interactive discussion about identity, tradition, sustainability and fashion-able practices around capulana. Therefore, different methodologies, here described were applied at the different phases of the research study and practical application and further analysed at the beginning of each chapter.

The theoretical corpus of this research-project is particularly inclined towards the approach defended by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Glaser & Strauss (1967) consisting in a more rigorous historical analysis and a combination of anthropological information with design methodologies. Glaser and Strauss brief grounded Theory: "the discovery of theory from data" (1967:1). In their work *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1990) Strauss & Corbin present it as:

"A grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. It is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis and theory stand in reciprocal relationship to one another." (idem: p. 23)

Given the creative, scientific and also pedagogical scope of my thesis, it became clear to me to guide my framework upon this approach since it is more permeable to allow the interaction of multiple actors in a reciprocal standing point and dialectical relationship. As Fig. I.3 shows, the first stage of my work starts with 'Preliminary Research' and includes all the foundation work mainly characterized by the formulation of the research question(s), the aims and objectives, the purpose of the study and the necessary definition of the state of the art (Theoretical Research).

To explore current creative practices around the production, fashion (market research) and use (consumption) in both Maputo and Lisbon urban contexts, I opted for a non-interventionist methodology to collect actual data about capulana, and thereupon complemented by bibliographic research, direct observation, and analysis of the semi-structured interviews.

The second part of the Preliminary Research was undergone in Maputo

(Mozambique) and deals with a semi-ethnographic study based on a coolhunting research approach. As a result of my option for qualitative methods (interviews and participant observation), I performed a wide gathering of semi-structured interview²³ among capulana wearers, historians, photographers, designers, retailers, younger and older Mozambican women – mamas²⁴, as well as emergent fashion designers and African tailors in Maputo, thus conjugating oral accounts and written sources throughout the fieldwork. Primary sources involved a contextual study framing first-hand observations in 'naturalistic settings'²⁵ as well as oral testimonials, mostly collected in Maputo and partly upon those semi-structured interviews (i.e. a personal guideline was laid out in advance), were also combined with other unstructured, open, qualitative interviews. Further fabric analysis, observational studies including photography and video recording in the field were mainly done in the urban center of Maputo, which I later cross-referred with my reports and field notes, settling hereupon my entire project. Hence, this semi – ethnographic study was undertaken in two different phases of my fieldwork performed in 2011, between Maputo (April-May 2011) and Lisbon (June-July 2011, here with the local African community). Further reading of specific literature comprehended discussing african textiles production and more precisely the way textiles have influenced the building of East African material culture, in general, and the whimsical sense of style and sartorial associated to East African identities, in particular. Moreover achieving a deeper understanding of the intricate economical realm around the Indian Ocean World (hereinafter IOW), and the respective cultural challenges occurred in this wide territory. My study work was complemented with a search for other situations and field-studies made among African tailors and emergent African designers; specific research about clothing production and trade systems, particularly in Maputo; and a closer understanding about the informal theoretical approaches to education; and finally, studying and contextualizing Portuguese governmental policies on immigration possible to identify in greater Lisbon.

The four months' fieldwork made in Maputo and Lisbon were not only fundamental to collect data, analyse and contextualize the actual problematics (discussed in the section 1.3.2 of this thesis) but to raise the necessary research questions mentioned earlier on this chapter. Further in order to follow possible outcomes based on my main assumptions resulting from the preliminary research, and also aiming to positively change the gaps analysed in the fieldwork (presented on chapter 3 – Coolhunting: fieldwork market research in Maputo) I chose to work with two different focus groups in Lisbon: the African Immigrant Tailors (hereinafter AIT) and a group Young African Women (hereinafter YAW). These two groups helped me to develop the two case studies elaborated upon two different pedagogical workshops programs (or creative laboratories) presented in chapter 6 Case Study 1– Educational Platform for African Tailors (hereinafter EPAT) and chapter 7 Case Study 2 – Capulanar.

Stage II – 'Prototyping' – includes the design research and planning of the work-study itself, as well as the definition of the research boundaries and the case studies (1 and 2) application.

To answer sub-question (1) how can the role of African tailors (whether in Maputo or in Lisbon) be described? Chapter 5 describes a semi-ethnographic field

²³ Because grounded theory research involves the formulation of local understandings that without inquiry by the researcher remain implicit and unexplained (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) the semi-structured interviews were crucial to collect data as needed.

²⁴ Mamas is a word of *Changana* language origin and means a woman that is married and is mother.

²⁵ I observed and recorded the subject of my study in its natural setting while interfering as little as possible with it.

study conducted by observing daily professional practices performed by local tailors whether in Maputo and Lisbon. Here drawing on Glaser (1978) I was more focused on initial observations and maintaining a 'theoretical sensitivity' for the development of categories that could emerge from the data.

The second and third sub-questions – (2) how can tailoring be re-appropriated by a 'formal' education system in order to upgrade knowledge and skills of African tailors in Lisbon? and (3) how can the traditional way of wearing capulana – as a rectangle of fabric – be updated?, led me to a practical and pedagogical approach here described as case studies 1 and 2, and further developed in chapter 6 and 7 respectively. This time around, I chose a new methodological direction that follows a Participatory Action Research (hereinafter PAR) approach with two different focus groups and in two different phases:

- Case study 1 EPAT (done with the AIT in Lisbon) was held between October 2011 and December 2012.
- Case-study 2 Capulanar was held in two different phases: 1st with the "Forums of Dialogue" taking place on June 22nd, July 6th and July 27th 2013; 2nd with the 3 months "Capulanar" done with the second focus group of YAW²⁶ and carried out throughout July, August and September 2013.

Bearing in mind eventual 'threats' to the tradition of capulana directly observed in the field in Maputo (and later in Lisbon) I realized that this sort of 'creative laboratories' would be the best proposal to carry out a series of practical and creative projects for which I pre-selected yet another two different focus groups. Because I consider tailors and fashion designers to be the real agents of creativity working with capulana I include them as participants. Chapter 5 takes a deeper analysis to better understand tailoring practices in both urban contexts Maputo and Lisbon. Chapter 6 and 7 describes the evolution of the creative labs, types of methodology and methods applied. Briefing this section is set out on the next section and in the diagram (fig 1.2).

1.7. Thesis Outline

Once defined and outlined the scope, problematic, goals and aims of the study, a brief guide lays out the various steps of the research. This first chapter introduces the thesis core topic and respective state of the art, the problem setting and contextualization, as well as the main research questions and sub-questions. And, as Fig 1.2 illustrates and next paragraph describes, this study is divided in different stages: (I) Preliminary Research (chapters 2, 3, 4); (II) Prototyping (chapters 5, 6 and 7); and (III) Conclusions and Reflections (chapter 8 and 9).

Stage I: Preliminary Research / Literature Review – Chapter 2, 3 and 4:

The first part of this thesis is composed by three different chapters that introduce altogether a study on the Mozambican capulana, at three different chronological phases: the past in chapter 2 – 'Unveiling Capulana's History' – understanding the historical background surrounding the importance of this cloth within the greater IOW; the present in chapter 3 – 'Coolhunting: Fieldwork Market Research in Maputo' – getting a 'situated' standpoint about capulana's production and consumption in the Mozambican capital; and finally, the future in chapter 4 – 'The Fashion-able Capulana: Cultural Expressiveness of the Cloth as a Dress-form' – is my thesis chapter, showing in one hand how capulana is still being used by customers, designers and tailors in a more fashionable/trendy way in Maputo; and,

²⁶ For the Capulanar Workshop I had the participations of 4 elements: 3 emergent African fashion designers (one from Guinea Bissau, one from Cape Vert and the other from Mozambique) and one emergent artist from Mozambique. All of them leaving Lisbon.

on the other hand, demonstrating how this cloth can be used and worked on in a fashion-able manner, here raising deeper questions and reflection about sustainability taking my own position about this perspective. Yet, I propose the capulana's conceptual potentiality, identifying the three cultural concepts as guidelines for a more sustainable fashion – and future – in the use/wearing of capulana (as uncut cloth) by the new generations.

Stage 2: Prototyping / Case Study Research (1 and 2) – chapter 5, 6 and 7

The second part of this thesis concerns empirical research and is concentrated in chapter 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 5 exposes a deeper analysis about apprenticeship system and tailoring practices comparing Maputo and Lisbon. Chapter 6 and 7 describe PAR with the two focus groups. This introduces and describes the two case studies developed in Lisbon upon two independent creative labs. Focusing on the core cultural concepts of the cloth – defined as Co-design, Slow-fashion and Affectivity. They are supported by a search for design methodologies based on D4S practices that enhance the historical, socio-cultural and even economical intrinsic values embodied in capulana. These practices may enable, both functionally and symbolically, the innovation of tradition, and open Fashion-able actions that strength identity and challenges the creative (re)usage of the fabric. To explore the designer's role as translator-interpreter, the (social and educational) role of fashion per se and the way collaborative Co-design processes with the community may capacitate the construction of identity, collective experience of production chains, empowerment and cultural sustainability, my practical work was developed with two different and important groups: African tailors and Young Women, being selected creative young Woman and mostly emergent African fashion designers. Developed to foster new epistemological and methodological design approaches my thesis hopes to contribute to a reading of the cloth from a D4S perspective. The work was done in an engaged and collective process, where participants shared their (cultural) knowledge, methods and experiences. This practical work integrated design methodologies meant to understand how the three capulana's core cultural concepts can be key to delineate the parameters for a D4S methodology to be applied thru a creative work that comprehended both perspectives, respectively the cut capulana (with the AIT) and the uncut capulana (with the YAW). The present study concludes with reflections on exploiting the designer role, the (social and educational) role of fashion and how collaborative processes with the community may reinforce identity processes, experience of co-learning, empowerment and enhance cultural sustainability for the evolved community around an object as capulana.

The next diagram briefly sets forth the various steps of the research methodology undertaken throughout the different stages and phases of my study-project. It synthetises the structure proposed by J.C Diehl (2010:9) in his thesis²⁷, and upon which I choose to schematically organize my research project as follows:

²⁷ The thesis is titled 'Product Innovation: Knowledge transfer for developing countries'.

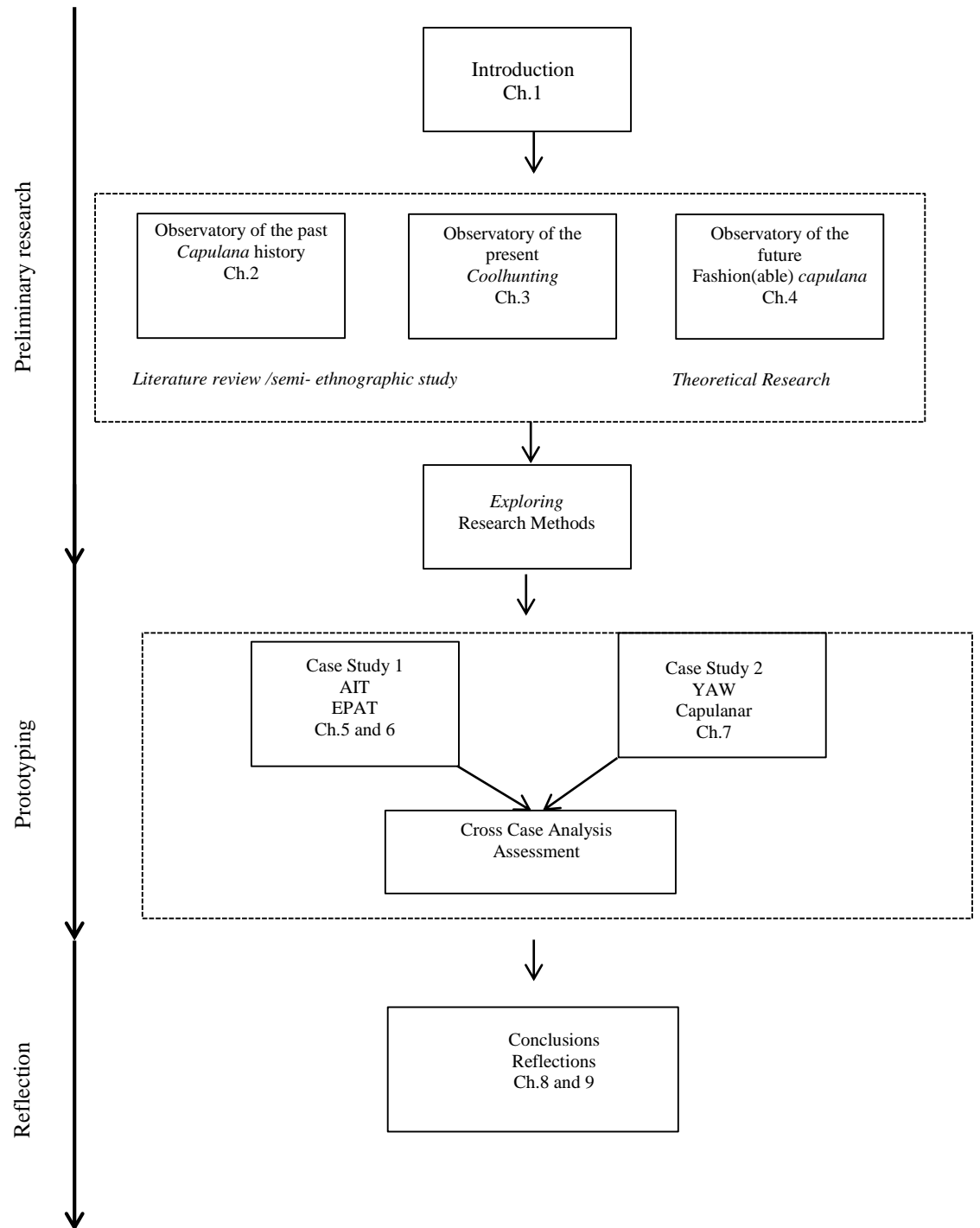


Figure 1.2: Thesis guiding-layout/Research methodology steps.



Map 1: Mozambique and other neighbouring countries. Source:
<http://www.portalsaofrancisco.com.br/mapas-mundiais/mapa-de-mocambique>.

Chapter 2 Observatory of the Past: Unveiling Capulana's History

2.1. The Indian Ocean Trade: East African Sartorial Historical Influences and Cultural Transferences

Of cotton cloths were dressed;
Of various colors, white and striped;
Some bring itself girded round about;
Other mode drafty under his arm;
From the waist up are naked;
For the weapons are machetes shields;
With caps on the head,
and sailing Anafis playing.

Os Lusíadas, Chant I-47, Luiz de Camões, 1572

Ah! tantos desconhecidos mortos
os que nasceram mais tarde
não hão-de gritar humilhados
bayete-bayete-bayete
à kapulana vermelha e verde
se subsistirem no tempo
kapulanas de várias cores. (...)

(Duarte Galvão, Lourenço Marques, 1954)

This chapter presents an historical overview to deepen knowledge and understanding about capulanas, their meanings in social, cultural and political spheres and to identify the main mediators/agents that contributed (and still contribute) to the development of the designs and fashions of these Mozambican fabrics since the second half of the nineteenth century. The richness of visual material became essential to illustrate how capulana patterns and fashion cycles have evolved in different decades. Also, this material is an important input to enhance the cultural concepts of capulana that will be the basis to develop the prototyping stage and Case Study Research (1 and 2) – chapters 6 and 7.

This chapter starts with an historical survey about capulana and shows the context in which this type of cloths appeared. Highlights the Indian Ocean cultures and their textile, fashion and sartorial history, intrinsically connected to the history of the whole maritime trade across the IOW (Indian Ocean World). A relevant area of commerce and fashions stretching from the coastal regions of Eastern/Southern Africa to the China Seas²⁸ (Alpers, 2009; Stanley, 1899; Simpson & Kresse, 2007). It is the link to the trans-Saharan caravans trade route that, "... brought textiles and other goods from North Africa, the Mediterranean and beyond to the upper reaches of the Niger and thence to the forest kingdoms of West Africa and the coast" (Spring (2012: 124).

The chapter also attempts to shed light on the design and printing techniques used on capulana during the colonial era to explain how this visual language is crucial to develop social, cultural meanings, identity and femininity concept from the second half of the nineteenth century to nowadays. And finally the last section is about an historical perspective about African tailoring practices and systems of learning this craftsmanship.

²⁸ Ressler (2012: 2) citing Snow (1988:1), refers that "writings from the 1400's confirms trade between China and Zanj, a 'stately African kingdom', likely on the Somali coast; its emissaries traveled to China where they were treated with honor and lavished with gifts. Africa was engaging with China, and as the east African coastal region became more affluent they were beginning to seek business across the ocean."

Methodological Approach to Sources

Because it was necessary to unveil the historical past of this cloth, secondary sources were essential and so a careful study was done of material objects and historical documents. Such was the case of specialized literature dealing with the analysis of clothing trading in the IOW, the influence of Islamic tradition of tailoring and also the influence of Western missions on the practice of both tailoring and sewing during the first half of the 20th century. Historical archives (photography and video) were fundamental to map out the evolution of the fashions on the East African shores, as well as to understand how the exchanges of goods and imagery around this coast were favourable to the birth of capulana as a symbol of East African identities and culture. Archives and websites were used to gather essential information and to select images highly relevant to local representational politics and cultural history, showing different ways of wearing capulana. Other images were selected from the work of important Mozambican photographers who kindly gave me permission to use some of their photographs in my research work. Further research material was also found in special documentaries²⁹ dedicated to the topics of Mozambican history and culture, giving me another opportunity to observe how were people dressed at different times and occasions throughout the 20th century. Whether everyday, at particular rituals or public ceremonies, capulana has been part of the process of construction of national identity. As for the rest of the sources, material gathered the result of my study of some private collections my fieldwork study undergone in Maputo in 2011.

How capulana appeared in Eastern African sartorial culture?

In human culture the sartorial has always been an integral part of the individual and social cultural experience both materially and symbolically. Over the century clothing became a global market of trading and consumption with a vast but changing history with complex links to manufacturing, tailoring and fashion(s). From the 19th century on with the advent of Western textile industry and overseas trading expansion, new clothes became easily available to purchase. Many of the writing accounts of African travellers describe clothes as the currency of a global trade. According to Alpers (2009), Capela & Medeiros (1987) during the Portuguese maritime expansionist epoch (1500's onwards), Western style clothing and fabrics were exchanged for gold, ivory, slaves and 'indigenous' clothes or textiles. Overtime local sartorial and the moves of wearing it enriched the cultural map along the Eastern African³⁰ shores of the Indian Ocean³¹. Since time immemorial, foreign items contributed to shape autochthonous identities, dressing codes and users' preferences. Western clothing acquired 'new' formats functions and cultural meanings across the shores of the African continent, while depending on the way the newly discovered garments were culturally embodied. Among the textile goods traded between Africans and Europeans an industrially printed rectangular piece of fabric was used mainly by women (but also by men)

²⁹ For further information on this topic consult the list of the viewed and analysed documentaries below: 'Costumes primitivos dos indigenas em Moçambique': <http://www.cinemateca.pt/Cinemateca-Digital/Ficha.aspx?obraid=2285&type=Video>; 'Moçambique ' <http://vimeo.com/19946284>; 'Terceira Frente-Moçambique 1964 a 1974' 1st part <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zuin4adCDjQ> and 2nd part <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w4f3VXvdgOo>

³⁰ In the Anglo Saxon version, 'East Africa stretches from the highlands of Ethiopia down through the deserts of the *Horn* to the game-rich plateau that makes up much of modern Kenya' (Gillow, 2003:157)

³¹ Until early 19th century, what is known today as Indian Ocean was also called in earlier European cartography as 'Sea of the Indes' and as 'Eastern Ocean'.

to wrap their bodies. This is capulana, as it is called in Mozambique, but known as *kanga* in Zanzibar, *lamba hoany* in Madagascar³², and *leso* in Mombasa (Kenya) and no matter the name of its many kin forms, capulana is presently acknowledged as an important symbol of nationhood and culture representativeness. Yet, a long historical path, power negotiations, industrial innovation, political struggles and cultural influences were needed to frame the birth of this iconic cloth. Especially from the middle of the 19th century onto the 20th century's, capulana occupies a central place in Mozambican processes of independency and post-colonial era at rebuilding national identity.

To better account for the specificities of how Mozambican capulana appeared in Eastern African sartorial culture, one must take a closer look to certain grounding aspects of its historical and geographical contexts within which textile and clothing commerce was firstly developed by the neighbouring regions around the Indian Ocean, and later on carried out by the increasing commercial flow of European colonial trade. Many of the social changes that happened thereafter with both slave abolition and the emergence of modern colonialism, made the centrality of the Zambezi coastal zones become crucial to maritime trades across the Indian Ocean.

Although Europeans controlled the production and trade of these cloths in the African markets for many centuries, it was only after colonial domination that capulana acquired the socio-political significance that it has today, namely in Mozambique. As Mia Couto emphasizes "capulana may have a foreigner origin but it is Mozambican in the way we tie it. And in the way that cloth started speaking to us³³." This idiosyncratic speech has in fact evolved from 'new' meanings incorporating sartorial in rather complex processes of restoring the nation's³⁴ identity across post-colonial Mozambique

Historically, the term capulana appears as a Mozambican cultural reference via the newly appointed president Samora Machel in his inauguration speech given in May 1975 when the country was proclaimed independent. If capulana was already associated with the socio-political processes of unveiling the importance of the commercial (and cultural) relations around the Indian Ocean, in his speech Samora Machel amplified the symbolic meaning of these cloths as an iconic emblem of Mozambiquence³⁵.

To sense the origins of capulana we must take an overview (following Gillow, 2003; Ross, 2008; and Spring, 2012: 122-140) to the ways Eastern African consumerism, textile local production, and cloth(ing) exchanges happened across the shores while the trade flow of textile and clothing spread throughout all Africa.

Indian Ocean Multicultural Trade Main Agents

Early expeditions led by Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama in the 15th century gave way for Europeans to get quicker access to the the Indian Ocean. This region

³² Characteristically *Kanga* and *Lamba* have a printed message/inscription on it written in local languages Kiswahili and Malagasy, respectively.

³³ In http://www.macua.org/miacouto/Mia_Couto_Amecon2003.htm

³⁴ Using (Spencer-Oatey 2012:18) definition "Nation is a political term referring to a government and a set of formal and legal mechanisms that have been established to regulate the political behavior of its people."

³⁵ The notion and expression *Mozambiquence* (after the word '*Mocambicanidade*' in Portuguese) was introduced in 1975, and it is still presently used, as a socio-cultural, political and ideological construction thru which the ideal of a 'New Man/Woman' pretended to break free in one hand from Portuguese colonial past and, on the other hand from the old 'tribalism' based on the ethnical divisions of the Mozambican people which, according to ideologists of the new regime (like Samora Machel), prevented any national cohesion as needed to constitute the newly independent country.

made part of a vast and old long-distance maritime trade network also called the 'first global economy' (Campbell, 2007: 50) "... regulated by the monsoon system of the Indian Ocean and South China Sea" (Simpson & Kresse, 2003: 48). From the 17th century, the dominance of the Portuguese over the IOW trade was replaced mainly by the English, the French and the Dutch.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, the trade of textiles, among other precious goods was done by Africans, East Indians, Arabs, Turkish³⁶ and Chinese people who led the commercial circuits around the Indian Ocean. Among these, Arabs³⁷ and East Indians had the strongest presence in the region's trade and their sartorial was highly influencing on costumes and fashions throughout the great sub-continental coastal areas. The Southeastern African coast was also a major trading point of ivory, gold, spices and slaves³⁸. After Luisa Pinto Teixeira (2008: 44), "a time series of the import and export trade data suggests that the economic history of Mozambique falls into four main phases. These were, a) ivory and gold (to ca.1770); b) slaves and varying quantities of ivory (to ca.1860); c) oilseeds, ivory and rubber (to ca.1895, but regionally longer); and d) plantation and peasant products, as well as labour services (after 1895)."



Figure 2.1: 'Moorish [Muslim] festivity' Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, 1884. Unknown author. Source: <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD6274>

According to Bang (2009: 1), such intense trade along with textiles and clothing trade, African coastal regions became defined as 'multi-cultural, cosmopolitan, pluralistic and hybrid'. It was also a common feature for local elites of the Mozambican coastal regions to wear ostensible garments made of the richest and finest materials such as silk, wool, linen and colourful listed cotton. Some references, for instance, describe Moors³⁹ wearing embroidered silk cloths with gold threads over their

heads. And Ferreira (1977: 55) mentions that " Vasco da Gama spoke about people with a culture much more advanced than the Portuguese ", highlighting the existence of a " local elite, mainly Swahili⁴⁰, living in cities ran by Arabs who had disclosed their culture and religion" (see Fig. 2.8, 2.12 and 2.13 showing Swahili Arabic fashions). These rather finer and richer textile products made and brought from the Far Eastern corners around the Indian Ocean were the preferred over the Portuguese and Indian panos (cloths). As Botelho registered, "The trades are made of silk from China, tea, calaim, cashew nuts, wine, rock sugar, breu de Malacca, areca, fishing nets, fine clothing from the coast, scarves, tales of Balagate [...] new Port cloth, leaves, kaffir cloths, baé cloths, calico and blankets of Balagate [...] man and woman shoes, cotton socks, and shirts made from the best quality linen, rifles, fans, copper white from China" (1835: 373). About the

³⁶ Here making reference to the Ottoman Empire (14th - 20th century).

³⁷ In the book *Zanzibar: Island of cloves* (1963) published by Great Britain- Central Office of Information. See references.

³⁸ Pedro Machado (2004:19) refers that "Mozambique's slave export trade was only fully developed in the late eighteenth century."

³⁹ Moors was the name given by Portuguese to refer to Arabic speaking people, professing Islamic religion. See Fig. 2.1 for Moorish fashions around 1880's.

⁴⁰ Swahili people (or Waswahili) are an ethnic and cultural group of Arab and African mixed descent. They mainly inhabit the area encompassing the Zanzibar archipelago, coastal Kenyan, the Tanzanian seaboard, northern Mozambique and offshore islands (Gillow, 2003: 157). The name *Swahili* is derived from the Arabic word *Sawahil* meaning 'coasts'.

historical grounds of commercial trade in the Indian Ocean, Joana Pereira Leite (1996) asserts that the expanding Indian traders, named the baneanes, are exemplary because once installed in the Mozambique Island, since 7th century, they spread tissues of Cambaia⁴¹, using coastal routes controlled by the Portuguese. Along the same lines Pedro Machado (2008,166) refers that between 1507 and 1513, Gujarati textiles were directly imported to Mozambique Island from India, in this case the most popular for the internal trade was not vespiças but 'barnazes' and 'dotins'. And Newitt (1998) confirms that Indian presence was notorious since the 16th and the 17th centuries especially on the coast of Mozambique, but also along the Zambezi across the Tete and Sofala valley, mainly through commercial activity. When I interviewed historian Alda da Costa⁴² in May 2011 in Maputo, she stated that all this textile commerce “ brought cosmopolitanism to regions where the use of skins by men and women, costumes made of bark and the use of cloths were already customary, turning them into rich fashion territories.” Da Costa also refers that “16th and 17th century documents reveal that near Sena, in the Zambezi Valley, cotton cloths were made in 'low-warp looms' that could reach dimensions of about 2,5 m long by 1,5 m wide and took a long time to weave. Similar looms were also found around Nyanja and Yao. Smaller pieces of cloth were woven amongst the Ndaou of Sofala and the Tsau, west of Inhambane.

If it was only in the beginning of the 19th century that the Portuguese began to repress Asian trade licenses in order to oversee the various imports and have greater control over the territory where they claimed to have been under their control from the end that century (Leite, idem: p. 92). Their presence on the East African and Indian Ocean coasts had considerably grown overtime, gaining decisive power in the region to take control over commercial negotiations, particularly over production and trade of goods in the (now) Indian Gujarati peninsular territories of Daman and Diu.

This economical strategy, however hegemonic, contemplated the recourse to local resources based on pre-existing trading relationships, mainly those engaged by the baneanes, as well as by the gujaratis, who became (from the 16th century to 1975) the principal traders in the same territory in India which maritime domain extended to the central port in the Island of Mozambique.

Da Costa also mentions that, “there was a rich fashion culture in the various regions of Mozambique and it varied from region to region. The expansion of commerce with Asia and Europe brought over new kinds of fabric acquired in India. There are references to rich cloths, silks, damasks, satins, cotton cloths with colour stripes many of these cloths being reserved for the aristocracy, as it was



Figure 2.2: Left: 'Indian type. Portrait of a woman'. Source: <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD7704>. Right: 'An original family'. Photography by Santos Rufino. Source: <https://www.abebooks.com/servlet/>

⁴¹ *Cambaia* is the name of a city and municipality in the Indian state of Gujarat.

⁴² Reference to an interview with Dr. Alda Costa in Maputo on May 18th 2011. Dra Alda is a PhD in Art History with a thesis on modern and contemporary Art of Mozambique (c.1932-2004).

the use of skins from certain animals like the leopard and the lion. These cloths were worn tied at the waist (in various manners), wrapped around the body and crossed over the chest. The bigger cotton cloths that were locally produced (the machiras) or the silk cloths that came from India or China, were used by the wealthier classes over the shoulders like a cape". Da Costa adds that Venetian beads were very important in enriching local and regional fashion diversely. According to the author, it was common for cloths to be embroidered with glass beads and small nets of beads of various colours and size. Different areas had preference over different types of beads.⁴³

For instance, beads brought over to Sena in the 18th century should be black and white. In Inhambane they could be of many colours and different sizes but not made of glass. By mid-19th century the preference had changed and blue glass



Figure 2.3: 'Indian Type' [Woman Portrait]. Source: <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD770>

beads became very popular down South.

Despite Portuguese and Indian traders had a significant influence on shaping Mozambican Dress "fashions" and exporting it to the neighbouring regions, Zanzibar had an equally important role in the East-Southern African coastal sartorial history. Zanzibar Island and Pemba⁴⁴ gained a great deal of relevance in the development of trading material cultural artifacts across the Indian Ocean area. From a simple village of fishermen in 1710, the size of the city had already grown considerably when "[...] in 1828 Seyyid Said, sultan of Muscat and Oman, decided to transfer his capital to Zanzibar town, and made it the principal city in East Africa"⁴⁵. For this account, Pratt (1992), Fair (2004) and Prestholdt (2008) agree that Mozambique Island, Zanzibar and Mombasa have since early times been cosmopolitan cities, 'contact zones' starring in a transcontinental commercial circuit of fabrics, cloths and clothing. Clarence-Smith (2005) and Simpson & Kresse (2007) add that such trade circuit covered a vast geographic area connecting North Africa, Southeast Asia,

the Middle East – as part of the Ottoman Empire till 1922 – and the South of China.

According to Prestholdt (2009), Fair (1998 and 2004) in the 19th century the city of Zanzibar became the most important economic center in East Africa and from the 1850's on the region was thriving with an intensive cross-cultural commerce

⁴³ Given its strategic geographical location, the Island of Mozambique was the main port for Indian Ocean trades for many centuries. As Father Monclaro lyrically describes in the account of the journey made by members of the company of Jesus with Francisco Barreto in the conquest of Monopata in the year 1569, "[...] the island of Mozambique is very small, being scarcely a league in length, and so narrow in the middle that a stone may be thrown from one side to the other. It is of sand, and covered with palm groves. There is no fresh water, except in some pools which they call fountains, where it is brackish. That used for drinking is brought from a distance of five leagues. It has an ancient fortress, but a very fine new one is now being built, on which large artillery, which we brought from the kingdom, will be mounted. There is a ruined Moorish village. The Portuguese village has about a hundred inhabitants, and of people of that country, namely Kaffirs and Indians mixed, there are about two hundred. It is about half a league distant from the mainland. It is healthier at present, because of different refreshments, which are sent from the gardens on the other shore, and a certain quantity of oranges and lemons. Many deaths take place here from the ships, which arrive from the kingdom. The captain of Sofala resides here, it being a more convenient port for all the coast of Melinde. The currency is gold dust, the least quantity or weight being half a *vintem*. Many hens are brought from the mainland, which they call Kaffirs, because they are small and not very good; the capons are excellent, but the fish here is very unhealthy food." (George McCall Theal, 1899: 202-253).

⁴⁴ Pemba is a tiny island in South of Zanzibar.

⁴⁵ URL: <https://archive.org/details/ZanzibarIslandOfCloves>

of a multitude of goods, Indian wood block prints⁴⁶ were particularly popular and boosted a panoply of clothing types that allowed for class differentiation, separating local elites from lower classes (see Velho, 1989: 18-21; Fair, 1998, and Gell, 1986: 136).

Hence, a highly rich visual sartorial experience results from an immense diversity of customary “fashions” performed throughout many centuries on the many regions around the African shores of the Indian Ocean. An intricate web of textile trading drew seemingly distant societies closer to each other by bringing their specific productions to Southerastern African markets, influencing the way people dressed. Prestholdt (2004: 760) refers that these links between East African consumers and foreign producers were particularly important: (1) foreign agents in Zanzibar – East Africa's commercial hub – and (2) the caravan leaders who traded directly with consumers throughout mainland East Africa. And Ruete (2009:93) highlights that all together Bombay, Gujarati, Goa, Diu, Daman, Madagascar, Comoro Islands, Oman, France, Britain, Persia and China actively contributed to the growth of the interregional trade that connected these regions around the Indian Ocean and consequently refashioned styles and helped reshaping local identities overtime.

On this coast, adds Gillow (2003: 13) “‘foreign’ trading was of great importance in encouraging demand for textiles as in East and Southern Africa, the weaving tradition was much less developed (Ethiopia is exception) than in the rest of the continent and was in many places wholly absent.”

Yet, as part of an apparent acculturation process, “[...] local artisans in Zanzibar altered cloth designs, added prints and colours, and cut and reshaped textiles based on information provided by caravan leaders and porters”, adds Prestholdt (2004: 766).

By mid 19th century, however, with the advent of Western textile industry the revolutionary increment of production and the expansion maritime trade, new western style clothes and accessories became available in many regions of colonial Africa thus reshaping, once again, the imagery and affectivity between the traditional and the modern.

“American clocks, British handkerchiefs and India umbrellas made East Africans list consumptions in the second half of the 19th century Prestholdt (2006:10)”. Eventually this array of foreign items contributed for (re)shaping identities, fashions and users preferences as Western style clothing also acquired ‘new’ formats, adjusting the original functions to new different social meanings accordingly to indigenous cultural traditions.



Figure 2.4: Left: ‘The Sultan of Zanzibar’ ca. 1801 Source: www.zanzibarhistory.org . Right: ‘Mulata Beauty’, 1942. Photography by Santos Rufino. Source:

<https://www.delcampe.net/fr/collections/cartes-postales/mozambique/mocambique-mozambique-africa-oriental-portuguesa-beleza-mulata-2-scans/395608095.html>

⁴⁶ A method of textile printing that uses hand-carved wooden blocks to stamp repetitive patterns composing a more or less small number of motifs onto the fabric.

Western-style sartorial was combined with the traditional and locally produced garments. Originally, these were as Gillow describes as “warped-striped cotton wraps obtained from the bark of tropical fig trees⁴⁷ leather and animal skin” (idem: 158). Yet, one of my interviewees (da Costa) pointed out that in Mozambique particularly, “skin and bark cloths were very much in use in the regions where foreign cloths were not so accessible. Among the Chopi (

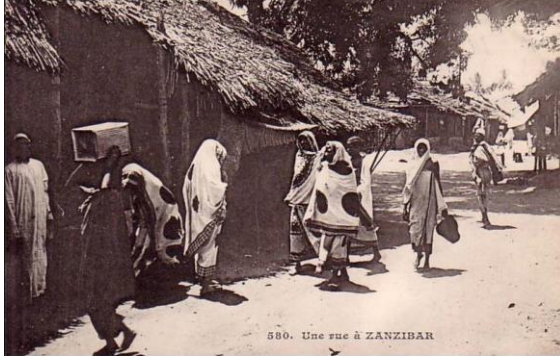


Figure 2.5: ‘Une rue à Zanzibar’. Source: http://www.oldeastafricapostcards.com/?page_id=237

Inhambane Province), Makhuwa-Lomwe (Nampula province), Yao and Makonde (Cabo Delgado and Niassa province), the production of bark cloth reached a state of great perfection. The cloth was used to numerous purposes. Softened with mafurra oil, it was used by mothers to carry their children on their backs, as a blanket, as thong or to make skirts decorated with white beads, which were used in initiation ceremonies and other rituals’.

Concerning the specificities of this locally produced Mozambican cloth, Benigna Zimba (2011)⁴⁸ adds that cloths made from the bark of various trees, were called *nakoto* in the North and *chivenhula* in the South and used as a symbol of social differentiation for most of the 19th century. However remarks Zimba, “ with the increasing availability of imported fabrics, especially in the coastal regions, to wear *nakoto* became a sign that people did not have the means to buy imported fabrics” (idem: p. 26). Here, the author also points out that from the type of cloth and its characteristics one may know what fashion does it relate to. In his article, one of the interviewees states, “The weight of *nakoto* cloth was a good reason why women did not cover their breasts [...], with the introduction of an Indian cloth called *tuuke*, this cloth was woven with a lighter thread in such a way that it also covered the breasts” (idem: p. 27).



Figure 2.6: ‘Stripping the bark from the “bark-cloth” tree’, Uganda. Winterton Collection of East African Photographs, Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston. Object 43-I-65-2A. 20 April, 2013. <http://winterton.library.northwestern.edu/browse.html?id=inu-wint-43-I-65-2A#action\tnewItem\item\tnu-wint-43-I-65-2A>

2.2 Different regions with the same capulana design

Often working as an important ambivalent marker of social and cultural identity,

⁴⁷ See Fig. 2.6

⁴⁸ Who carried out an in-depth study on locally produced cloths in the various regions of Mozambique from the 18th to mid 19th centuries

clothing has for long been used to emphasize both differentiation and similarity. And the diverse collection of sartorial traditionally worn by East African people is not an exception. For this account, next selection of images shows the richness of such fashions used by different social classes/ranks from different ethnic origins in Mozambique, Madagascar and Zanzibar. These are pictures of Mouros, East Indians, Mulattos and Régulos (African kings) and other natives during the second half of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th. And, analogously speaking they reflect how the many cultural contacts taken place along these shores for centuries have produced hybrid forms and styles of African, Indian, Asian and European influences, whilst illustrating how similar cloths could be often seen in different yet contiguous geographical and cultural regions. Captured by European lenses, interested in framing the specifics of these regions, some of the following images reveal us that even some capulana's motives / patterns were repeated from region to region such is the example of Madagascar and Mozambique. In the images below (Fig. 2.7) we can see how the Tartan pattern woven capulana was traditionally worn in Mozambique as much as in Madagascar. And in the following three pictures (Fig. 2.8) we can also observe Zanzibar's fashions showing both the influence of Oman traditional sartorial and – in its $\frac{3}{4}$ sleeve blouses – the similarities with traditional East Indian traditional dress.



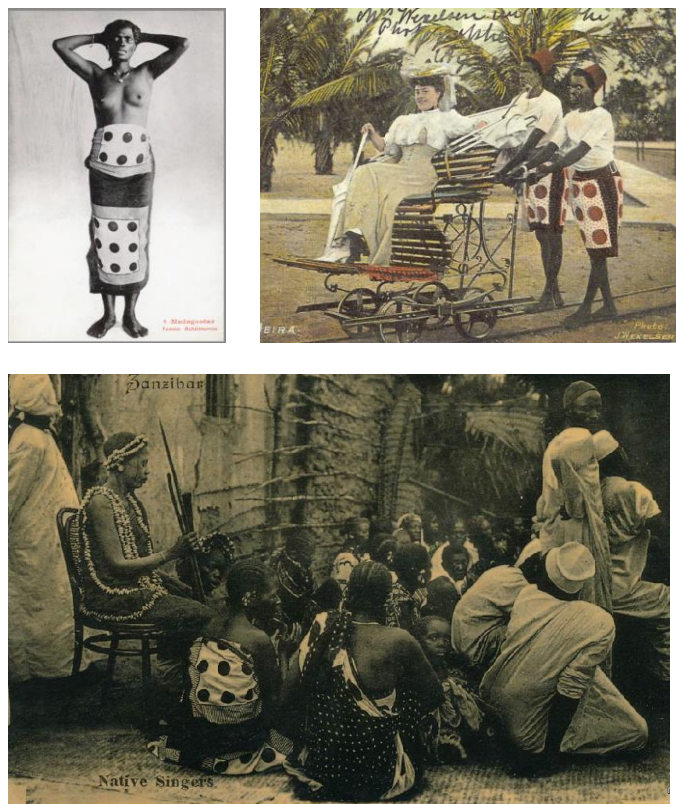
Figure 2.7: Top left 'Madagascar, Sakalava women, ca1915'. Unknown Source. Right: 'Portrait of Gungunhana and his seven wives next to guards'. Photography by Hily Lds, Source: <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD6738>.

The next group of images (Fig. 2.9) illustrates formal similarities and distinctions on how the same capulana pattern could be found on three different regions of the East African coast: Madagascar, Mozambique and Zanzibar. Lamba, capulana and Kanga (respectively) show the permeability of "fashions" in these regions. They also demonstrate the visual potentiality of the genderless form, which allows the same cloth to be worn by both men and women in many ways showing different sides of the same pattern.



Figure 2.8: Left: 'Beluchi Women in Muscat' ca.1901. Photography by Fernandez. Source: <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/544724517405965994/>. Middle: 'Masked lady of Muscat' ca.1901. Photography by K.Arabiantz. Source: <http://www.omanisilver.com/contents/en-us/d20.html>. Right: 'Masked Swahili girls'. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/okinawa-soba/2931187286/>.

Figure 2.9: Top left: 'Madagascar - Antaimorona Woman.1910. Source: <http://siris-archives.si.edu/ipac20/ipac.jsp?> Top right: 'Mulher do fotógrafo J. Wexelsen num requixó'. Beira. 1903. Source: <http://apphographia.blogspot.pt/2007/07/os-olhares-fotograficos-dos-estrangeiros.html> Bottom: Native singers, 1906. Source: <http://www.postcardman.net/zanzibar/255948.jpg>



Additionally, Fig. 2.10 and 2.11 depict how the Western Crinoline period styles from the end of the 19th century were incorporated but “refashioned” by local African elites. Here, a closer look to the picture (Fig. 2.11) draws our attention to the 1912 portrait of a Betsimisaraka Malagasy woman dressed in a similar style to the one shown in the ‘Latest Fashions’ catalogue from 1861 (cft. Fig. 2.10)⁴⁹.



Figure 2.10: ‘Latest Fashions: dress of Mozambique’. Catalogue, year of 1861. Source: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e1-39b1-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

If tracing back to its origins, the permeability of this cloth to foreign cultural influences can be found long before the arrival of colonial style attire and dresscode, in the Swahili sub-continental culture and Arabic dress, alike. A closer look at Swahili sartorial shows another way of wearing certain forms of capulana here combined with influences from Arabic dress, both materially and aesthetically. Swahili people are known to be the flourishing ethnical and cultural mix of Arab and African origin, speaking the Swahili language (a lingua-franca mainly rooted both in African European – Portuguese and English linguistic family with many Arabic-loan words) and inhabiting the Swahili coast that encompasses the great territories of Somalia, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and Mozambique Coast, as well as the islands of Zanzibar and Comoros.



Figure 2.11: ‘Tamatave – Betsimisaraka Woman going for a promenade’, Madagascar, May 2nd 1912.⁵⁰ Source: <https://sirismm.si.edu/eeepa/postcards/>

2.3 Swahili Clothing: a social differentiator

Given its strong ethnical, historical, and religious, Arab and (coastal) East African influences, the cross-cultural richness of traditional Swahili sartorial is visible on a large number of dress, headwear and jewellery pieces worn in a variety of combinations of head and body ornaments and a multitude of wrapping or loose fitted garments. In Fig. 2.12 (early 20th century), for example, a printed East African capulana (here in its kin form of kangas) is worn wrapped like a Sari but

⁴⁹ Compare similar chekered patterns in figures 2.30, 2.44 and 2.47 ahead in this chapter.

⁵⁰ Tamatave is the former French name by which Toamasina the city-port in the Atsinanana region is called nowadays in Malagasy.

with an Arab-like turban and complemented by a set of earrings, bracelets and necklaces.



Figure 2.12: 'Swahili woman posing with arms akimbo, flamboyantly dressed in printed kangas and turban and wearing jewelry'. Source: www.digitalgallery.nypl.org.

Likewise conveyed in sartorial culture in general, Swahili dress evidentiates social ranking distinction through a manifold of garments, fabrics, patterns, motives and finishing details. In Fig. 2.13, a particularly elaborated printed type of kangas identifies this woman as belonging to a higher social rank, whereas in Fig. 2.12 that same social differentiation is portrayed by the Arab style ankle frilled pants used by certain Swahili elite members. Here other influences from the Oman/Muscat regions are also shown (as previously illustrated in Fig. 2.8). Throughout the Swahili coastal regions⁵¹ (according to Ross, 2008 and Fair 1998) it was rather common to find wealthy people, like Sultans, local elites and some East Indian merchants wearing a rich mixture of hand-woven textiles with imported stuff, velvet, veils, silver masks, caps, embroidery, beads and silken turbans. Such binding hybridization (if one may call so) of iconic elements from each particular East African traditional heritage, Arab aesthetics and Muslim religious codes is deeply incorporated in Swahili material cultural roots. As shown in pictures 2.8 (before) and 2.12, some Swahili costumes include Muscat style masks that by covering the face also emphasize womanhood modesty and discretion after Muslim sumptuary rules; while other dressing forms depict voluminous turbans and $\frac{3}{4}$ to full body length wraps and Abaya (or djelaba caftan-like cloak) made of African motives cloths and/or fabrics (like shown in Fig. 2.9, 2.13 and 2.14); or the kangas. According to Spring (2012:103) are based on an innovative idea from an Arab merchant in Zanzibar who decided to sew together single "lenços to create a garment known as leso ya kushona [...] so that his wife could be completely covered when in public."

⁵¹ The Swahili coastal region, made up of a string of settlements along the east coast of Africa, both on the mainland and throughout coastal islands, was divided among British East Africa (present-day Kenya), German East Africa (present-day mainland Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi), and Portuguese East Africa (present-day Mozambique) (Ryan, 2013:42).

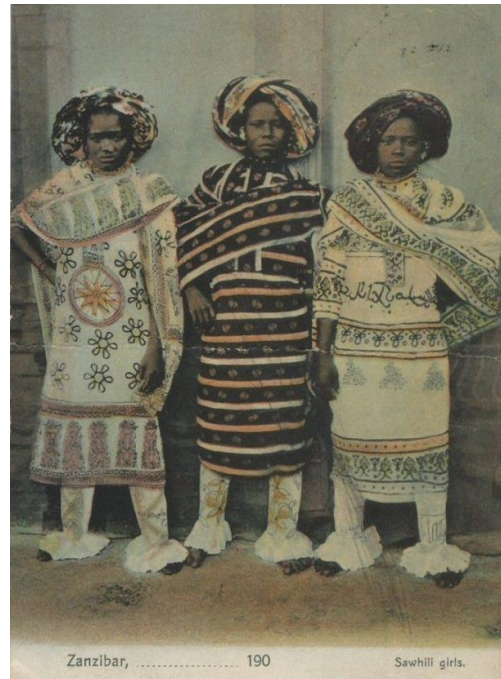


Figure 2.13: 'Swahili girls, ca.1910'
 Photography by P. de Lord. 1900 – 1910 A. P
 de Lord Pereira de Lord and his brother.
 Source www.delcampe.net



Figure 2.14: Female retainers of Swahili Household in gala dress,
 photographed by Sir John Kirk.
 Source: <http://digital.nls.uk/kirk/kirk7.html>



Figure 2.15: 'Swahili girls of Zanzibar'. 1905. Source: www.flickrriver.com



Figure 2.16: Emily Ruete, the protagonist in Lukas Hartmann's novel "Farewell to Zanzibar", in a recording about 1880. Photo: BKP. Source: <http://bazonline.ch/kultur/buecher/Der-Tanz-zwischen-Fakten-und-Traum/story/17362841>

As early pictures illustrate, Zanzibar's Swahili fashions are the zenith of this East African territory and style works as cultural differentiator. As portrayed in Fig. 2.16 and echoed in the words of Salamah bint Said⁵²:

Rich women prefer gold brocades in many devices, velvet or silk richly trimmed, but in very hot weather plain, light calico or muslin is worn. Shirts and trousers never conform as to pattern (...) the silk handkerchief proper reaches as far as the ankles. When an Arabian lady goes out she dons her shale, representing comforter, jacket, ulster, waterproof, and dustcoat all in one. It is a large wrap of black silk worked round the edges with gold or silver designs according to the owner's property and taste. (In Ruete E., 2009:89)

Printed Clothing vs Social Status

The intrinsic attribute of clothing being used as a social differentiator is well known in almost every culture. Even more so when – with the spreading and advance of modern maritime colonial trade – that differentiation became enhanced by adding new kinds of less common sartorial pieces and fabrics to the local traditionally costumes. From the 1700's on, with slave trade and the high increment of the so called 'Commercial Triangle' (mostly between Western Africa, Europe and the Americas) the arrival of these new imported textile goods had a great deal of influence on the interchangeability of East-Southern African fashions⁵³ and, more particularly on the way several social classes mainly "elites were constantly looking for objects that could serve to differentiate them from non-elites" (Prestholt, 2004: 765). Furthermore, the introduction of such non-African textile and other sartorial artefacts also served to reiterate pre-existing

⁵² Salamah bint Said, also known as Emily Ruete, was the daughter of Sultan Seyyid Said of Zanzibar and Oman. In 1880, she wrote her book, *Memoires of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar*.

⁵³ In his 2004 article on 'The Global Repercussions of East Africa Consumerism' Prestholt gives a clear description of how East African fashions changed and how this changes affected the merchants of this coast.

socially differentiating traditional sumptuary codes. For example, about the kind of fabric material only allowed to certain classes, Gillow (2003: 157) reminds us “For centuries the use of cotton cloth was restricted to the aristocracy.” In a similar way, when regarding the prohibition for lower class people and slaves to wear anysort of patterns or ornamented clothes, Fair (2004: 14-15) describes that “Slaves in nineteenth-century Zanzibar typically wore only the slightest of clothes, which were usually made of the rudest and cheapest white cotton, known as *merikani* (unbleached *calicos*⁵⁴) because it comes from the United States. [...] Slaves only wore one piece of cloth which men wrapped around their waists and women tied under their armpits.” Interestingly, in this early type of wrapped garment one can perceive original forms and functions of what would later become the *capulana*. If those wrapping-textiles were originally made of simple white cotton (mostly produced in American mills⁵⁵), since the mid-1800’s however, imported *merikani* white cloths were block printed in black and red (and later on in all imaginable colors) creating what is nowadays known as the multi-coloured / multi-patterned *kanga* or *capulana* (Ross, 2008: 122). For this account, Spring (2012: 102) refers that “In the 1870’s women began dyeing this cloth (*merikani*) in indigo to create a cloth known as *kaniki*, a name which is still used to describe cloth worn principally by women, though also by the M’ganga and their assistants, spirit healers and diviners who wear a combination of black, red and white *kaniki* as the distinctive uniform of their profession.”⁵⁶ McCurdy adds a new light and argues that elite Manyema women were responsible for the introduction of *kangas* (in its forms length long *lesos* in lots of different colors) in the Swahili region: “According to one local recorder of local fashion and practices, Swahili women had worn only *kanini* or white cloths before Manyema women came to Zanzibar”⁵⁷ (2006:467).

Overall, paraphrasing Goffman (1951)⁵⁸ the class structure of society requires appropriation of symbolic devices by which social classes can distinguish themselves from each other. Thus to say that Europeans have used clothing, in general, and fashion phenomenal codification, in particular, to increase and establish whichever forms of status differentiation, whether in European Western societies, at first, or throughout the colonized world afterwards. This clothing-based segregating code derived from both suppression and exclusion. Suppression because the intention was indeed to keep the usage of local ethnical traditional costumes (and the social-cultural memory of it) out of conscious awareness, thus implying the necessary exclusion of any old traditional sartorial habits, forbidding the wearing of anything else but what was mandated by Western-European social codes. Yet, this phenomenon was not exclusive to Africa but also all colonial territories. As noted by Ross (2008: 48) the same was already happening in 1735 at the opposite side of the world: “South Carolina legislature in 1735 went so far as to prescribe that slaves were only allowed to wear the cheapest cloths and importers specified that the material they imported was fit for Negro clothing.” At first defined by the cultural imperialism and then by colonial hegemony, the intrusive process of westernizing dress manner’s proceeded to south of the Sahara Africa. Through the rigid imposition of non-African sartorial, and the systematic attempt to destroy any form of pre-existing indigenous apparel. The

⁵⁴ See also Prestholdt (2004: 768).

⁵⁵ After the American Civil War (1861–1865) and the subsequent abolition of slavery in the United States, the British Empire felt the urge to redirect their hegemony over the world’s commercial trade to India where they started to dominate and produce similar quality of cotton implementing a massive construction of textile mills.

⁵⁶ Fig. 2.72 picturing a healer in Maputo (in 2011) confirms that the present usage of these three colors combination still perpetuates the ‘rule’ coded in the tradition.

⁵⁷ See next section (2.4) for a detailed description about the importance of this elite.

⁵⁸ Goffman, Erving (1951). ‘Symbols of Class Status.’ *British Journal of Sociology* 2 (Dec.): 294-304.

'norms of appearance' and what-not-to-wear versus what-must-be-worn 'rules' strongly introduced a very specific way of dressing among native African people in the colonies.

Tomely with slave abolition⁵⁹ there was an increase of interest and demand by African people for decorated textiles and longer cloths – before made for wealthier classes exclusively. Like “the wives of the kings, chiefs and merchants.” (Howana, 2007: 15). With this new desire grew a potential market for the visible expressiveness of the new social class of the 'free Men and Women', African (and Afro-American) people who were finally allowed to communicate⁶⁰ their interests, tastes, desires, and nonetheless important to purchase commercial goods, thus making them a large part of the group of consumers. From then on, printed fabrics became a strong demand in the wide market of textiles, signifying henceforth a new era of promising emancipation, freedom and personal prosperity and identity.

With this growth of consumption demand for textiles, Portuguese and of course the Dutch and the English (with their respective colonies in India and Indonesia) rushed to firmly control the commercial domination over the market and trade of printed textiles. Soon enough the Indian Ocean traders understood that the strategy to control this economically powerful market would be to combine the production of African print styles with the preservation of certain culturally iconic forms and shapes of clothing such as the Southeastern African traditional rectangular cloth – capulana. At the same time, traders and producers also understood that the Western way of dressing with structured style clothing, and all its social codes and manners, was too complex and obsolete for the African hot climate. On the other hand, the Islamization presence of the region was so strong that wearing non-structured but uncut loose clothes could conform to Muslim religious sartorial codes and behaviour about modesty.

2.4. The centrality of cloths in East African life at the beginning of 20th century

As pointed out in the last paragraphs, the shores around Southeastern African regions served as a cross-cultural epicenter (Reese, 2007: 191) of a growing powerful commercial trading network that all along reinforced decisive historical and geographical changes and brought up a whole new setting of social relations (Prestholdt, 2003: 195) for novelty. These regions, as much as elsewhere were affected by the spreading of commercial trading routes and the advance of industrial production and transportation technology. And whether in the form of clothing or fabrics -, textiles came to intensify the promotion of important encounters likely to reshape cultures and identities. At the beginning of the 20th century new forms of dressing attire were no longer restrained by suppression and exclusion of local traditional costumes and habits, nor forced by the imposition of external sartorial codes, but rather embodying newly established notions of 'freedom' and equity. Apparently, this included the rapid assimilation of loose uncut forms of wrapping-garments made of printed textiles into the way African people could dress themselves after their own interests, tastes, desires and traditions, or a creative combination of all. Wrapping – style – dress such as

⁵⁹ In Portugal slavery was abolished under the Decree of 19 December in 1854, but only by mid 1960s was this abhorrent trade ending.

⁶⁰ On this matter related to the power of communication through this type of cloths, further readings can be followed in authors: Beck, 1995 and 1997; Hamid, 1995; Hongoke, 1993; and Spring, 2012.

the sari from India and the sarong from Indonesia, inspired new styles of attire from around the Indian Ocean shores.

Scholarly opinions hold that the invention of printed cloths happened in Zanzibar – ‘the Paris of East Africa’⁶¹ - around 1880s (Arnfred 2010, Beck, 2001, Fair 2004,) and this has given rise to various theories pointing for the emergence of ‘conscious’ fashion. Some examples might illustrate such theory. Authors like Spring 2012, describe that “during 1860 it also became fashionable for ladies of high social status from Zanzibar and Mombasa to wear garments created by sewing together the printed lenço of a type which the Portuguese had first treaded into Eastern Africa in the sixteenth century but which by the late nineteenth century were being printed in Manchester, the Netherlands and Switzerland” (2012: 102-103)⁶². Yet McCurdy challenging this perspective, agrees that “... the *kanga* emerged in the context of ivory and slave trade” [but] “... it emerged from Manyema women’s participation in the caravans and their performance of what it meant to be an elite Manyema woman as they travelled from the northeast of Lake Tanganyika, across the central route of the East African slave route, into Zanzibar and back again” (2006: 443). McCurdy’s hypothesis is that women during the travels would have had time to sew their fabrics into different designs and that they developed the early *kanga* prototype⁶³, which was coveted and copied by women of the coast of Zanzibar.

The growing consumption and esteem for printed fabric is due to several facts. In mid-18th century the Dutch recruited soldiers to fight in their colonial wars in Java, and on their return to Europe, they stopped in the then Gold Coast area, where they became reputed for introducing in West Africa⁶⁴ a particular taste for the traditional Javanese wax-resistant textiles (Gillow, 2003: 12). By late 19th century, a Belgian engraver J. B. Previnaire adapted a French banknote-printing machine in order to apply resin as resistant agent on both surfaces of the textile. Batike was then modified with additional coloured areas applied with wooden blocks (Clarke, 1997).

The advance of industrial revolution came hand-in-hand with the rise of great innovations. In Europe, stamping machines with sheet copper cylinders responded to the demand of larger quantities of printed textile to produce. The rise of industrial capitalism also increased the space for stronger colonial conquests. It not merely turned Europe into the prime center of global politics, but it also transformed the erstwhile rivalries between major European countries into the ‘scramble for Africa’⁶⁵. The production and market control of printed African textiles was in the hand of the Europeans. To satisfy the African customer’s aesthetics many inspirational sources were developed from Indian cottons, Javanese Batiks, to natural forms and political figures. For Steiner (1985: 93) “printed textiles exported to Africa during the 19th and 20th centuries have been of two types: wax prints (wax batiks) and non-wax prints (fancy African wax prints or roller prints)”⁶⁶

⁶¹ Laura Fair 2004:19, refers that this attribute was given by an official in 1900, referring to the highly fashion-conscious women in Zanzibar

⁶² Also the authors Hanby & Gygot, 2006; Beck, 2001; Torcado, M. L., & Rolleta, P., 2004, and Hamid, 1996 agree about this version.

⁶³ Yet Laura Fair, argue that “The first *kangas* known as *kanga Za mera*, were actually produced locally in the 1890s by innovative merchants hoping to capitalize on island women’s desires for more varied clothing fashions. *Kanga za mera* were made by block-printing on sheets of white *merikani* cloth, primarily with dyes of black and red.” (2004:18)

⁶⁴ More specifically in the region previously called Gold Coast, and presently known as Ghana.

⁶⁵ Also known as ‘Partition of Africa’ and ‘Conquest of Africa’, it refers to the *popular* name for the invasion, occupation, colonization and annexation of African territories by European powers during New Imperialism period between 1881 and 1914.

⁶⁶ Section 2.4.2, I present more ground theory on the industrial printing techniques applied in *capulana*.

However uncertain, the roots of printed textiles are Indian and Indonesian, Laura Fair (2004) whose studies have focused on the (ex)changes of male and female clothing on the Swahili coast, asserts that this typology of printed cloth had its origins around 1880s in Zanzibar with the abolition of slavery. On the same issue, Suzette Howana (2007: 15) states, “on the coast of Cabo Delgado, for example, in the early 20th century, women who had opportunity to do so, used capulana known as tuukwe ou suuka. Tuukwe is of black colour, and sukuua is of white colour; those two types of capulana do not have any image printed on it. Traders sold these capulanas cutting them into two pieces of fabric totalling 4 meters”⁶⁷. The author also notes that “there is no precise data about the period when capulana started to be used, though in several Mozambican regions they were already producing textiles in the 18th and 19th centuries, such are the cases of the Marave states in Northern Mozambique where they made white colour cotton cloths, the machiras that were part of the international trade in the oriental coast of Africa. In the past, the usage of colour indicated social position, cultural and religious rituals and convictions. It is only after 1920 that capulana starts to be worn at national scale.” Concerning the initial colours of capulana, Zimba (2011: 31) states that “in the 18th century and beginnings of 19th, black, white and red were and remained the three most important colours in traditional ceremonies like divination, and other ceremonies like funerals and weddings.” Based on oral accounts, the author adds that there was a close relationship between the importation process of Indian fabrics and dye production in the regions of Cabo Delgado and Nampula, saying “Indian merchants would buy either locally produced dye or the Mozambican products that were used to make the dye” (idem: 32)

Even though it is acknowledged that capulana spread from the North of Mozambique to the South, geographically justifying the trade networking and interconnectedness of the Northern regions with the broader trading areas connected to the Indian Ocean, the origins of the name capulana are yet not very clear. Sources are in fact scarce on this matter. The only authors I found addressing this subject are Maria de Lurdes Torcado and João Craveirinha⁶⁸. With Torcado (2004: 20) we learnt that: “One of the first explanations given [for the name: capulana] is that the word derives from Ka polana or the place of the chief Polana, which is now located within the boundaries of Maputo.” While after investigating the history of the name, Mozambican artist João Craveirinha reinforced Torcado’s argument recalling that: “where today is the Hotel Polana in Maputo, formerly designated the lands of the chief Pulana [...] in that same location it was usual to have fairs/local markets, in mid-19th century, East Indians were the protagonists of selling textiles. Generally, cloths’ traders were white people (mulungo, neologism of Bantu origin) or Indo-British (the monhés⁶⁹) who had small shops called cantinas. When women from the periphery of the city of Lourenço Marques (actual Maputo) moved to that area said ‘a-ni-ka-Pulana’ (meaning: ‘I go to the land of Polana’). In the word ka-pulana, ‘ka’ is otherwise a prefix in Bantu language that means ‘from’ (Polana).”

⁶⁷ My translation from the original.

⁶⁸ Interview carried out in Lisbon, 11th November 2013 in the Faculty of letters – Lisbon University.

⁶⁹ *Monhé* (also, *myinhi*, *mwénè*): expression of Bantu origin used along the coast to refer to the lords of the region. Later on, under the influence of the modern Portuguese colonial administration, with their racial prejudice towards non-European populations, the word became used to refer to East Indians in general (Meneses, 2009: 10).

⁶⁹ The independence of Mozambique was finally won in 1975 under the command of FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação Nacional - Mozambique Liberation Front). Among the main concerns of the policies implemented by the first government was the achievement of national development and unity. And, FRELIMO’s political-cultural projects became the great building framework of national identity.

Along with this linguistic explanation other important factors gave Ka-pulana its historical significance. After Mozambique's independence in 1975⁷⁰ the newly elected president Samora Machel institutionalized the name capulana in his inaugurating speech making it the iconic emblem of freedom and national identity in what came to be called "mozambiqueness". With Meneses (2009: 2) "The projects of nationhood through modernization, which were predominant in the early revolutionary years after independence, were overtaken in favour of discourses that insisted upon shared cultural roots." Empowered by foundational meaningfulness, capulana became the quintessential of expression of the new nation's cultural rooting, and thereupon the main symbol of what has since constituted Mozambiqueness⁷¹. This rather proud and large nomination didn't subdue the preservation of all other names by which the same National Dress is called in the different languages (and dialects) spoken in modern Mozambique. Otherwise, one wonders with Torcado (2004: 20) if capulana, as we know it today, has probably come from the North to the South of Mozambique, wouldn't seem unlikely to become popularly known by a name originated in the south of the country? A Maconde woman,⁷² when asked about the widespread name capulana answered: "Capulana is a generalized name, it was generalized by our president Machel. But in fact, each ethnic group applies a characteristic name according to the local dialect, for example the Maconde ethnicity calls one single capulana, Inguvo and to two capulanas, Dinguvo. When we go to the store to buy cloth we, Maconde People, say: I want an Inguvo!"

With the emergence of independence and the birth of broader meanings of national pride and material cultural symbols whether they are locally called capulana, lambas, *kangas*, or wax prints, these African printed cloths gained a notorious role in affirming African identity, not only in West and East Africa, but also throughout the diaspora contexts. As Olu Oguibe (1999: 39) observed: "Dutch wax, a popular printed fabric used by millions of people across sub Saharan Africa and increasingly in the West among people of African descent. This fabric became a symbol of nationalist revival in the wake of political independence in Africa, a sign of the new continent, of pride and difference.

⁷⁰ The independence of Mozambique was finally won in 1975 under the command of FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação Nacional - Mozambique Liberation Front). Among the main concerns of the policies implemented by the first government was the achievement of national development and unity. And, FRELIMO's political-cultural projects became the great building framework of national identity.

⁷¹ The reclamation of *capulana* as the Mozambican Dress, along with other national symbols like the flag, anthems, commemorative dates and innumerable other representations made all part of a greater political discourse of reconstruction and revalorization of national unity and cultural practices in post-independence times. The same happened in other contexts, being it the Zaire or Angola Moorman translates by the *quality of being* but remaining conscious of the context (urban, cosmopolitan) in which the term was originally used (2004, p.99).

⁷² Interview carried on 22nd May 2013 in D Juliana's home, Barreiro. Lisbon.



Figure 2.17: 'East Indian store in Chimoio', 1930. Source www.digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt

Politicians discarded their Western style suits in favour of Dutch wax jumpers and embroidered gowns. In the 1970's the material made its transition into the iconography of the Black Power movement in the United States and Britain, and its residues are still to be found in such neighbourhoods as Harlem in New York and Brixton in London. In time tourists and exotica hunters bought into the myth of this 'African fabric', with its bright,

decorative patterns and flowing open ended forms".

2.4.1. Capulana's ambivalent quality: raw-material and support-material

After measuring dozens of capulanas⁷³, I could conclude that nowadays its actual length varies between 1.70 to 1.90 m and its width is a fixed measure of 1.10 m. This measure is regulated by the standard measure of the industrial cylinders for printing. However, around 1960's, as Dr Magalhães⁷⁴ referred during one of my fieldwork interviews: "In the North of Mozambique capulanas were smaller only measuring 1,60 m by 1m. And in the South capulanas could measure 1,90 m by 1,20 m. This difference is due to the physiognomy of the ethnic groups. Women in the North are smaller than people in southern Mozambique."

Traditionally these cloths are printed with a bold central design, framed by a solid border (a double or four-sided border) with distinctive designs that can be either a repetition of the central motif or a different one. Like illustrated on next pictures (Fig. 2.19, 2.20 and 2.21) some capulanas may also have printed on the selvage a serial number of the design and a reference name (many times that of the mill where it was made), the location of production and the used printing technique, like illustrated in the following pictures (Fig. 2.19, 2.20 and 2.21). Other capulanas however may have no inscription at all like shown in Fig. 2.22 ahead.

⁷³ From a total of 52 capulanas measured some are from our own collection, others from some of the interviewees' collection, while others are from the collection of the Museum of Ethnology in Lisbon.

⁷⁴ Dr. Francisco Magalhães is the son of the owner of Textáfrica, the engineer Manuel Albano Dias de Magalhães, who wrote the book 'Fizemos uma cidade' (in English 'We built a city') from 2006, which is about the story, opportunities and problems around his Textáfrica textile mill. The interview was conducted October 12nd, 2013. Was made by telephone and email in Lisbon.



Figure 2.18: Capulana alluding to the Peace Treaty signed in October 4th 1992 in Mozambique. Produced by Textáfrica, Chimoio. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/ particular collection of capulanas.



Figure 2.19: Kanga from the North of Mozambique produced in 2001 by MWatex – Tanzania- (serial number 786-92-110-87). Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/ particular collection of capulanas



Figure 2.20: Two examples of capulanas showing description, serial number and the used printed techniques on the cloths' edges. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/ particular collection of capulanas

2.4.2. Printing Techniques used on capulana

Today's industrially wax printed⁷⁵ (or 'Dutch Wax') and cheaper roller-printed (or fancy prints) capulanas became one of the most widely distributed forms of 'African' textiles. Their names describe both the process and the results of the printing technique. As author Ruth Nielsen (1979: 468) elucidates "wax print is a printed cotton fabric of plain weave to which the design is applied with hot wax or resin on both sides of the cloth while roller prints are ordinary printed fabrics to which the design is applied on one side of the cloth in a continuous process by engraved metal rollers."



Figure 2.21: Capulana commemorating the 29th OMM's anniversary, printed in 2001 by MBS (serial number 1203). Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/particular collection of capulanas.

Although earlier designs of capulana were made with woodblock for hand-stamp cloths, like Dr Francisco explained, based on his father's monograph, "[back] in 1968, at TextAfrica, printings were still made manually using frames measuring of 120 cm by 80 cm. Later this manual technique was replaced by roller cylinder with engraved designs that were repeated at every 900 mm and 640 mm for the capulanas. For the scarves, however, designs were repeated every 480 mm." (Magalhães, 2006: 174): the interviewee comments that the cotton canvas arrives blank, raw and rolled up. It then goes through a process of de-sizing to remove the starch ('glue' or 'gum') that makes it too stiff. After that the fabric has

dried and mercerised, a process that makes the textile fibre open up and the dye paint to be absorbed. Next, the fabric goes through a process of bleaching, washing and more drying. Only then the actual printing so characteristic of the capulana and all final procedures can start: color fixation by steam, new washing and drying, and all final dressings and finishings like measuring, folding, classification and packaging.

In Mozambique there were five companies doing textile printing: Texlom in present Maputo, Textáfrica in Chimoio, Texmoque in Nampula, and Riopelo and Texmanta in Pemba. Most of them were shut down during the country's civil war from 1977 to 1992. According to Arnfred (2004: 42) the situation was different in the period after Independence and during the war "[...] when there was a painful shortage of capulanas. But by the 1990s the only worry was the price. A pair of capulanas was not much more than 2 or 3 USD (30.000 – 40.000 meticalais⁷⁶), but in an economy where few have any income at all, even such a small amount is prohibitive."

From 2006, new Texmoque in Nampula started the local production of capulanas. No other company is producing 'locally made' capulanas⁷⁷. Nowadays most

⁷⁵ Although many trace the origin of wax prints to Indonesia and India, this is an ancient art form that already existed in Egypt in the 4th century BCE, mostly used in the ritual of mummification.

⁷⁶ Metical is the Mozambican currency that replaced the Portuguese escudo 5 years after the country's independence. The 1980 first coinage is commonly abbreviated by MZN and the second one from 2006 by MTn (or simply MT).

⁷⁷ The production is limited to Nampula. New Texmoque only produces little quantities for local consumption. The cotton fabric is imported from Tanzania and India and in New Texmoque the finishing and stamping process is done. See a testimony of an actual worker from this company in Assunção (2018:39).

capulanas seen, sold and worn in Mozambique are produced in China, Indonesia, India and West African countries, whilst some are still made in East African neighbouring countries like Tanzania. Even if there are good quality production, we also attend to the scenario of mass-production of capulana brought by the introduction of cheaper imitations of resin-based printing techniques producing larger amounts of fabric for lesser price and quality⁷⁸ (see Fig. 2.23).



Figure 2.22: Capulana 'Moçambique' made with fancy print technique. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/ particular collection of capulanas.

The other type of printing techniques known as fancy print⁷⁹ saw its popularity increased because it became widely favoured as an emblematic way of expressing social promotion, individual propaganda or celebration of special events. They are easily recognized for its decorative features and largely used for the reproduction of photographic images. This preference for fancy print capulanas is explained by Chris Spring saying that "[...] in the 1920s this process was invented because it did not require a resistant agent at all and allowed printing on one side of the cloth only, while reproducing at the same time some of the features of 'wax' prints. This in turn led to a rapid development in the tradition of commemorative cloths in which people and important events could be celebrated" (Spring, 2012: 78). As shown in Fig. 2.23, with the fancy print technique the design is printed only on one side of the cotton fabric, thus resulting in a difference of colour intensity at the backside of the cloth. They are industrially produced imitations of the wax prints and are based on industry print. These fabrics are produced for mass consumption and they are cheap cloths. These examples illustrate different types of capulanas and the respective printing techniques used to produce it.

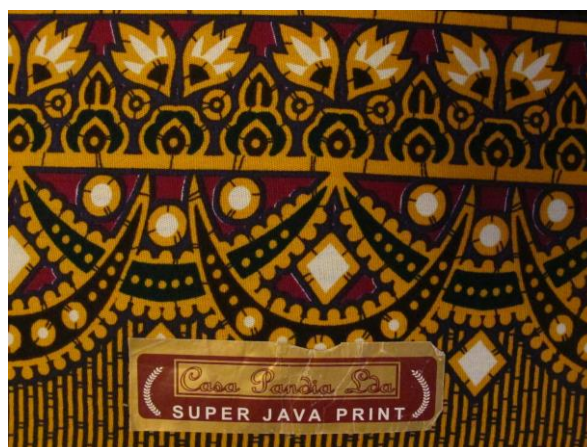


Figure 2.23: A margin of a capulana with the label 'Casa Pandia, Lda'. Super java print Technique. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/ private collection of capulanas.

The label of the capulana in Fig.2.23 gives the information that it was made by 'Casa Pandia Lda' (a retail shop located in Maputo) using the super java print high

⁷⁸ For this matter check author Nina Sylvanus and particularly her questions on the role of Chinese wax-print copies in Africa (Togo), in her article "Chinese Devils'? Perceptions of the Chinese in Lomé's Central Market ' available on this link: http://rss.cebri.org/eventos_03_ucla_paper7.p

⁷⁹ These are only printed on one side of the fabric enabling more detailed motifs and the reproduction of photographs

quality printing technique. In this case the design is printed on both front and reverse sides of the fabric.

The capulana in Fig. 2.24 uses fancy print technique, was produced by 'New Texmoque, Lda'. Texmoq Company has been closed since 1990's and later recovered later by the Tanzanian Group Metel. However in 2012 government suspended this new company because of violations against environmental safety. Fig. 2.25 shows a capulana 'Impala', originally designed and produced by the company Texlom. As explained by the owner of 'Casa Elefante' in Maputo,⁸⁰ this capulana using the fancy print technique is actually (re)produced by another company in India.



Figure 2.24: Capulana printed by the 'New Texmoque, Lda'.
Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/ private collection of capulanas.



Figure 2.25: 'Capulana Impala'. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/ private collection of capulanas

⁸⁰ Conversation on May 12th, 2011.



Figure 2.26: Capulana from North Mozambique designed and produced by the Chinese company Wintex, headquartered in Hong Kong. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/ private collection of capulanas.



Figure 2.27: Capulana from Northern Mozambique produced by Diamond using high quality printing techniques: veritable wax. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/ private collection of capulanas

2.4.3. Different styles of wearing capulana

Usually capulanas are sold in identical pairs though it is not uncommon to buy them as a single cloth. One way or another, from the North to the South of



Figure 2.28: Capulana tied around the waist and lower body resembling a skirt. Maputo 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

Mozambique, there are different styles of wrapping the body with one or more capulanas. Each ethnic group/region has its own dress code. “Many women wear capulana over their skirts while working in the fields in order to control the dust”, say Arnfred & Meneses (2014:5) but originally capulanas were tightly wrapped around the torso. Nowadays, it is usual to find in Southern Mozambican rural areas, women wearing either just one or a pair of capulanas draped as a skirt combined with a different design headscarf and a Western style shirt. In Northern Mozambique (particularly in Mozambique Island) capulana is worn in a far more complex way. Here, women may wear up to five capulanas: a pair of capulanas wrapped as a skirt, then another capulana on top as a full-length dress covering the body (from the chest to the knees), and finally a quimão and lenço as head-cloths. On top, gold jewellery and the *m'siro* mask⁸¹ complete this style

shown on Fig. 2.30.

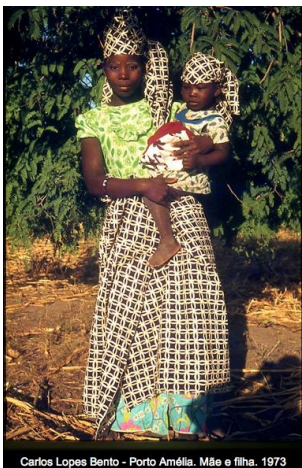


Figure 2.29: Mother and daughter wearing the same capulana pattern. Photography by Carlos Lopes Bento. Porto Amélia, 1973. Unknown Source

Not less common is to find in more cosmopolitan urban areas tailormade capulanas sewn into regular clothes⁸². Although in urban areas many Mozambican women only wear capulanas at home, as an undergarment for instance, or only at certain ceremonies, they still have a strong affection for capulana. For this affective reason, it is very common to see Mozambican women carrying around a capulana in their handbag because, as⁸³ one of my fieldwork interviewees said: “one might need it during daily situations or just because it is a cultural sign of Mozambiqueness.”

⁸¹ *M'siro* is a traditional beauty and medicinal mask widely used in the northern regions of Mozambique, though this practice has also been diffused throughout other regions in the South. Scientifically called *Olex dissitiflora*, the *M'siro* is extracted from the branches of a small tree or woody and leafy bush, which white paste is obtained by rubbing up the branch, already stripped of its bark, and then grated on a particular stone – called *inchaui* (in *emakwa*) collected at the shores along the coastline – to which water is added to form a dough consistency. After this preparation process is completed, the *M'siro* can now be applied over the face, or on the whole body (see Fig. 2.33).

⁸² Section 2.7 will discuss the importante role of tailors on developing tailor-made clothing. Also the system of learning and working will be hilighted in an historical perspective.

⁸³ Interview conducted 14th Juin 2013.Lisbon in d. Rosa's house, Amadora.



Figure 2.30: Three women showing three personal ways of wrapping capulana in Mozambique Island. The woman in the middle also wears *m'siro* mask. Courtesy of the photographer Jorge Almeida, 1982.

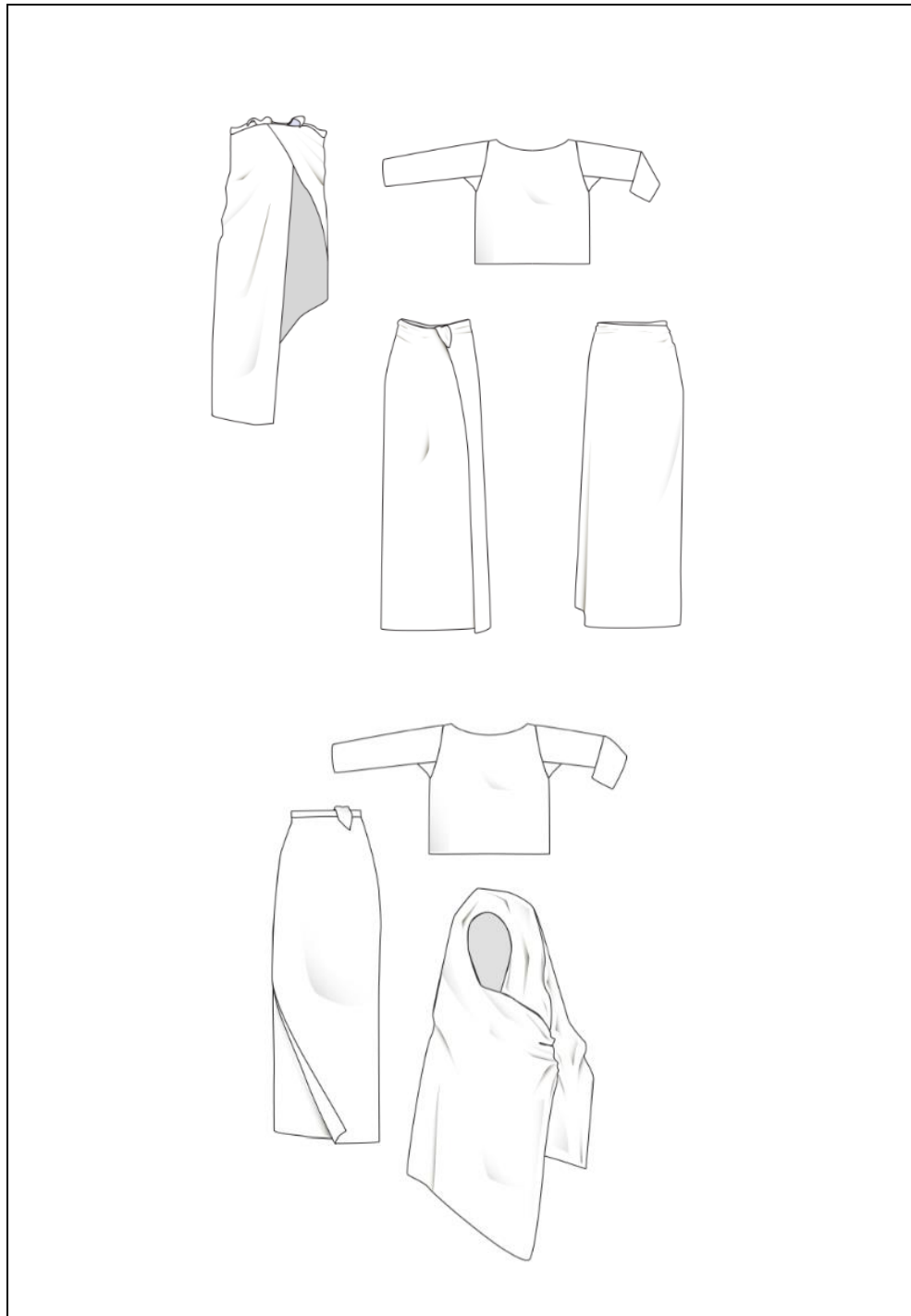


Figure 2.31: Technical drawings showing draping details of clothing worn on picture 2.30
Drawn by Vanessa Monteiro.



Figure 2.32: Sequence of images showing a Macua woman preparing the *M'siro* mask. She is wearing the traditional costume from this region of Mozambique. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

As shown before with several examples, versatility is one of the major qualities of this rectangular cloth herein evoked by the various possible ways of wearing it. This fact alone has led me to link capulana to the greater concepts of sustainability and Slow-fashion (further developed in chapter 4 of this thesis). This to say that a multiplicity of forms of wearing a capulana may also acquires different functions according to daily life necessities. Capulana is not only used as a garment, but also as a towel, a tablecloth, a curtain, a bed-sheet, a head-wrap when it rains, a shoulder shawl-like-cloth, or as anything else a certain situation may call for its usage. Frequently we can also see capulana being used as a sling for mothers to carry their babies on their backs (see Fig. 2.33). Called *Belecar* after its local name, it means “to carry the baby on the back during daily works, and although traditionally *tehe*⁸⁴ is used for this purpose, capulana is also a common substitute”, says Torcado (2002: 9). Although in the first half of the 20th century we could still see men wearing capulana as figures 2.45, 2.46 and 2.47 shows, nowadays it is rather frequent to men using it as a loincloth or undergarment, thus frequently hidden from the public eye.



Figure 2.33: ‘Belecar’, Maputo 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

2.4.4. Capulana: a medium for religious and political advertising marketing

When addressing capulana design prints we must mention the political, religious and national iconography allusion⁸⁵ made in fancy print technique depicting several African politicians, a particular style created as propaganda material for commemorative dates. Similar to the study developed by Simon Clark (2005: 86) on the subject of *Kangas*, my analysis also identified two particular design categories⁸⁶. This iconography is related to political personalities, and those related to political events and anniversaries of politicians, and other religious and

⁸⁴ As author Maria de Lourdes Torcado (2002) explains, *Tehe* is a long narrow piece of cloth in black and white.

⁸⁵ About cloths of political intervention, in 2010, at the Tropenmuseum of Amsterdam showed the exhibition ‘Long Live the President: Portrait Cloths from Africa’ included 60 political cloths from the private collection of Bernard Collet (see references).

⁸⁶ These findings were done during my internship at the National Museum of Ethnology in Lisbon, and later during my fieldwork in Maputo in 2011.

iconic figures or social movements. These iconic images are highly important as they portrait the 'present-day life narrative of Mozambique and follow the topics of design printing typology.



Figure 2.34: Top: Capulana 'Joaquim Alberto Chissano'. Bottom: Capulana ' Samora Moises Machel'. Courtesy of the National Museum of Ethnology in Lisbon. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.



Figure 2.35: Old Woman wearing. Capulana with the picture of the Frelimo's president Armando Guebuza. Maputo 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

The capulana in Fig. 2.34 for example, displays printed photographic portraits of presidents Joaquim Alberto Chissano and Samora Machel. The portraits are in the center of the cloth since they are intended to be the visually dominant motif in the design so when dressed the face of the president must be located on the back of the woman wearing the cloth, like illustrated as Fig. 2.35 illustrates. As highlighted by Clark (2005:92) this type of iconography may “have influence from Chinese socialist art” and were specially produced after independence to promote the sense of nationalism among the population. Above all, and as referred by Meneses (2003:6) when women wear political propaganda, they are expressing (in silence) their political affiliation.



Figure 2.36: Religious capulana with the picture of Pope João Paulo II. Source: <http://essen-t-cies.blogspot.pt/2010/12/capulana.html>.

“Propaganda” capulanas may also have religious written messages or images using the face of the spiritual leaders printed on it. It is common to see capulanas with catholic icons like Jesus Christ, the Holy Maria or pope John Paul II (see Fig.2.36) being used during catholic ceremonies or elsewhere as a symbol of religious affiliation.

2.5. Making of a Visual Diary: Design Orientation And Motifs Typology

To define capulana, it is not only important to take into account its forms/shapes, but also the visual impact of patterns. They play a strong role in the whole composition of the cloth. This section will show how these patterns and forms have evolved thru different decades of the 20th century. Mainly a pictorial summary of the different traditional cloths produced in several regions of Mozambique and Tanzania (a bordering north with Mozambique). Because capulana textiles have been “fashionable” consumer items overtime, the printed designs have also been subjected to change accommodating passing trends, continuously.

Illustrative material shows here, the existence of capulana fashion cycles in both designs and forms – from its wrapped around the body and draped styles to fitted dress versions – while introducing a series of important points aimed to (1) complement the contents the previous paragraphs by presenting a historical background upon visual material that better illustrates the evolutionary analysis undertaken so far and reaffirms that capulana was always an element of and for fashion; (2) to allow the discussion taking place in the next chapter 3 which, essentially focuses on the more Western inspired tailored capulana, giving away to a more alternative view that examines the potential of this rectangular piece of fabric in its intrinsic cultural concepts for the production of sustainable fashion; (3) to substantiate and further develop the contents contemplated on chapter 6 and 7 addressing the practical co-design work developed in Lisbon with the AIT and the capulanar group of YAW made with emergent Fashion Designers.

The influence of Tanzania and Madagascar cloths' patterns

When grasping capulana's visual pattern evolution across the decades, it is also

important to include some pictorial research about Tanzania and Madagascar. Because of their geographical proximity these territories have always had a strong influence in Mozambican dressing styles and clothing typology. This cross- cultural influence from Tanzania is remarkable in the use of *kanga* in Northern regions of Mozambique. The next five pictures depict typical patterns used in Tanzania that have spread along the Swahili coast (including northern Mozambique). In these images from the first half of the 20th century, one can also observe that the first patterns show the eminence of the chequered style amongst other designs with geometric motifs such as dots, paisley⁸⁷ and stripes⁸⁸ (Figures 2.37; 2.38 and 2.39). Early *Kanga* designs from Vlisco are shown on Fig 2.37. The image on the left shows a design with a spotted ground and paisley and triangular compound border, while the image on the right shows repeated motif of paisleys.



Figure 2.37: Left: Vlisco hand-block printed *kanga*, c.1910. Note the spotted ground, paisley and triangular compound border with no text. 00081-00103. Right Vlisco hand-block printed *kanga*, c.1910. 00081-00160, Vlisco Museum, Helmond, The Netherlands. Source: <http://www.geheugenvannederland.nl>

Furthermore, these images reveal that lines of various forms, such as straight lines and bold lines are very common in capulana's print - design. This can also indicate that these cloths were industrially created after a handmade pattern inspired by strip-weave⁸⁹. And developed by the Ewe weavers in West Africa. *Kanga* printings were always looked forward and its designs made a statement about its wearers up to date status.

⁸⁷ The author Ressler (2012:5) in her article 'The *Kanga*, A Cloth That Reveals- Co-production of Culture in Africa and the Indian Ocean Region' (see full reference at the end of the chapter) makes an important reflection about the origins of paisley designs printed on these cloths, arguing that: "It is often said that a *kanga* is not a *kanga* without the Persian/Kashmiri boteh or Scottish paisley design." This symbol it is said to have been borrowed from 17th century floral and tree of life designs in Mughal textiles. Kashmiri shawls also incorporate the symbol, as do shawls woven in Paisley, in the 18th century Scotland. In India the same symbol is called the mango design, a fertility symbol. In Africa, paisley was one of the most popular designs, due to its similarity to the shape of the cashew nut, a major source of income in Eastern and Southern Africa. But also "...symbol of wealth and fertility. The cashew symbol forms an integral part of conceptions of the *kanga*; for some people a *kanga* without a cashew nut is not a real *kanga*." (Ressler 2012:5 citing Nyamangaa, 2009).

⁸⁸ In the same article (*idem*: 7), Ressler continues: "The striped *kangas* are reminiscent of Omani striped cloth. Its original popularity with Omani traders contributed to its export to Zanzibar, and later used as a model for *kangas* design. The original cloth is prized for its mixture of silk and cotton woven in colorful striped patterns usually in reds and golden yellows."

⁸⁹ A deeper study about Ewe was and still being done by Duncan Clark and Research is available on: <http://www.adireafricantextiles.com/eweintro.htm>.



Figure 2.38: Left: 'Tanganyika Coast Natives topless'. Source: www.delcampe.net. Right: 'Three Swahili women posing as they prepare to grind posho (maize meal with long wooden poles in a wooden bucket'. Winterton Collection of East African Photographs, Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston. Object 61-2. Source: <http://hdl.handle.net/2166.DL/inu-wint-61-2>.

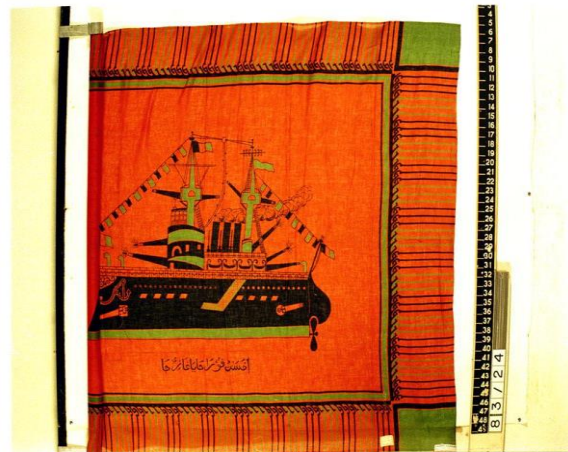


Figure 2.39: Left: 'Swahili girls, Zanzibar'. Winterton Collection of East African Photographs, Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston. Object 43-1-11-2A. Source: <http://hdl.handle.net/2166.DL/inu-wint-43-1-11-2A>. Right: 'Swahili women, hair dressing.' Winterton Collection of East African Photographs, Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston. Object 56-2-45. Source: <http://hdl.handle.net/2166.DL/inu-wint-56-2-45>



Figure 2.40: Left 'Kanga with modern houses and street lights' around 1900's. Source: <http://zanzibarhistory.org/assets/images/Kanga%20with%20modern%20houses%20and%20street%20lights%20%20apx%201900.jpg>. Right: Vlisco hand-block printed kanga, 1903. 00070-00010

Figure 2.41: Vlisco machine-printed *kanga*, 1925-1933. 00083-00024, Vlisco Museum, Helmond, The Netherlands. Source: <http://www.geheugenvannederland.nl/?/en/items/VLIS01:00083-00024/&st=00083-00024.&sc=%2800083-00024%29&singleitem=true>



From earlier cloths with just sets of simple prints of spots, lines, and paisleys (see *kangas* samples in Fig. 2.53 and 2.54 and the *capulana* in Fig. 2.44) both *kanga*'s and *capulana*'s printed designs have evolved far more complex forms which people have adapted as a medium to speak out personal opinions, social issues and political interventions. It seems unanimous among scholars that across decades these designs became a privileged vehicle to communicate about history and many cultural values, behaviors, feelings and even wealth⁹⁰. Whether in its simpler or more complex form, *capulanas*' designs may also include inscriptions or slogans to enable a more direct communication. Usually designs draw its inspiration from history, legends, myths, proverbs, social and political events, so when passed on from generation to generation they become like a national 'History book'. An overview on the evolution of *capulana*'s patterns over the 1st and 2nd half of the 20th century in Mozambique grasps the importance these history – teller – cloths played in reshaping identity and sartorial.

Figure 2.42: 'Costumes of indigenous neighbourhood', 1891. Mission of Marianno de Carvalho to the province of Mozambique; general edition. Photography by Manoel Romão Pereira. Source: <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD6458>



2.5.1 A brief overview about the evolution of *capulana* printed designs on the 1st half of the 20th Century

In Mozambique, early cloths were used without any printed iconography. In Fig.

⁹⁰ See Arnfred, and Meneses, 2015; Beck, 1997, 2000, 2001 and 2005; Fair, 1998 and 2004; Hamid, 1996; Hanby and Gygot 1984; Meneses, 2003; Ressler, 2012; Ross, 2008; Spring, 2012 and 2013; Tembe and Cardoso, 1978a; Torcado, and Rolleta, P. (2004); Yahya-Othman, 1997; Zawawi, 2003

2.42 some women wear capulanas called *tuukwe*, in black, and *sukuua*, in white, yet the two women on the left wear the chequered capulana pattern. Another woman wears a woven capulana with a chequered pattern and at the top she wears a local woven cloth called *chivenhula*, made of plain cotton, possibly black⁹¹. Likewise, Fig. 2.43 (left) and Fig. 2.44 (left and right) exemplify of women wearing not printed cloths but woven ones. The same picture shows that working class people at the *machambas* commonly used the woven chequered pattern in the South. After Arnfred (2010: 8), these capulanas were slightly larger, made of heavier cotton material and its design was woven, not printed, with a chequered pattern in black and dark red. The stylist and author Mêmê highlights that “...the most common colors are white, very pale yellow, black red and wine [burgundy]” (2006: 37). Men can also use capulana in a variety of forms. Sometimes they use it wrapped around the waist, leaving the top bare, other times they wear it in combination with a t-shirt or a jacket. Figures 2.45, 2.46 and 2.47 show these differences.

As showed before in figures 2.39 to 2.41 (for the Zanzibar case) also in Mozambique the first patterns were characterized by dots, straight lines and bold lines. Figure 2.48 however depicts a capulana with a decorative border in a pattern that differs from the area defined by the central pattern. As seen before on Figure 2.9 the first printed dotted patterns were typically red and white. All this confirms that capulana designs are continuously subject to cycles and follow a local/regional dress trends. One can find the same capulana pattern around the same time (1910) in both Madagascar⁹² and Zanzibar⁹³, thus highlighting the permeability and adaptability of sartorial between these contiguous regions⁹⁴.



Figure 2.43: Left: ‘Queen of Xai-xai, Queen of Sabbath’. Photography by Thiesson, Lisbon, 1841. George Eastman Collection. Right: ‘Worker in the Reunion island from the Coast of Mozambique’, 1890.

⁹¹ For this matter see author Zimba’s study (2011) on local and imported fabrics in Mozambique.

⁹² Check Madagascar – Femme Antaimorona postcard:

<http://sirius-archives.si.edu/ipac20/ipac.jsp?uri=full=3100001~!225996!0>

⁹³ Check Zanzibar – Native Singers postcard:

<http://www.delcampe.net/page/item/id.265054824,var.ZANZIBAR--NATIVE-SINGERS--PEREIRA-DE-LORD-Photo-Artist-ZANZIBAR--AFRIQUE-TANZANIE-H.language.E.html#description>

⁹⁴ See figure 2.9 of this chapter for more details about these pictures.



Figure 2.44: Left: “O marco –fontenário de Magude”, in João dos Santos Rufino, *Albuns Fotograficos e descritivos da Colónia de Moçambique*, Vol. IV, Lourenço Marques, 1929. Source: <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/>. Right: ‘Delagoa Bay fruit vendor’, 1903. Source: <https://www.pinterest.pt/pin/375206212696773112/>.



Figure 2.45: ‘People from the Tanzania-Mozambique border’, 1903. Photography by J.P.

Simões. Quota: PRA/PI223. ICTT – Ultramarine Historical Archive.
Source: <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD6387>

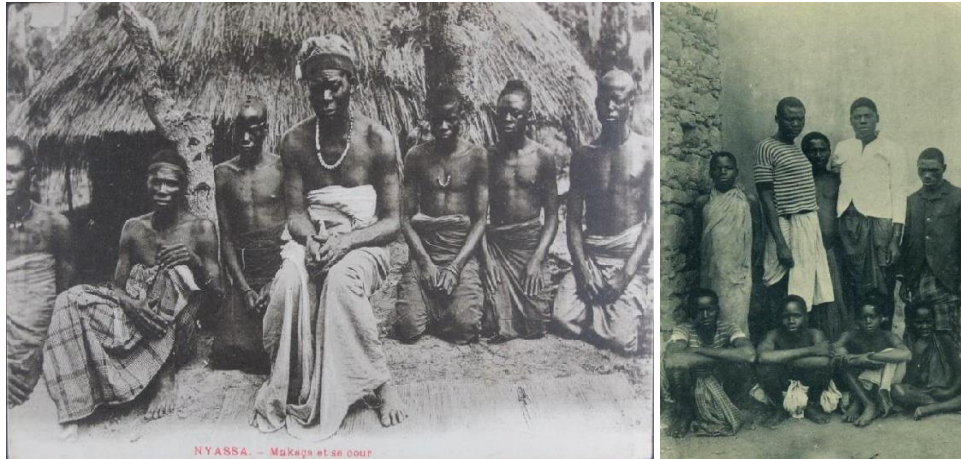


Figure 2.46: Left: 'Mission des Pères Blancs - Makaça et sa cour, 1908. Source: <https://www.delcampe.net/fr/collections/cartes-postales/mozambique/cpa-de-nyassa-mission-des-peres-blancs-makaca-et-sa-cour-tbe-497940650.html>. Right: 'Nine men', 1900-1910. Unknown Source.



Figure 2.47: 'Along the beach', 1907-1910. East African Geodesic Mission – Album 4. Gago Coutinho. ICTT – Ultramarine Historical Archive. Source: <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD5231>



Figure 2.48: 'Crushing mapira'. 1905. Source: <http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt>

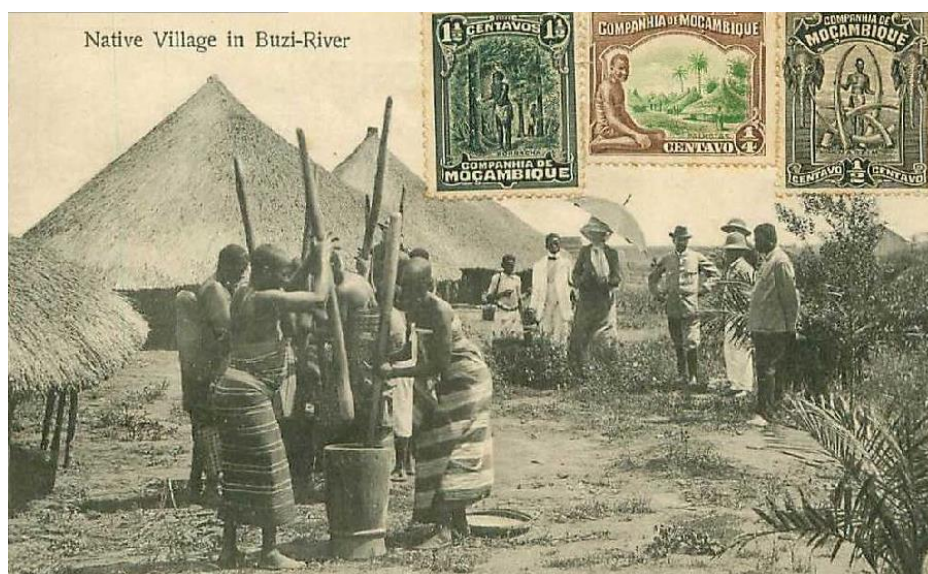


Figure 2.49: 'Native village on the Buzi River'. Source: <https://catalogue.millsarchive.org/native-village-in-buzi-river>

The Island of Mozambique given its strategic placement in the commercial routes of the Indian Ocean was the stage for the richest capulana trends. As it can be observed in the next images, the patterns of the cloths from this territory are much richer than the patterns from the regions of the Buzi River, eastward through the Manica and Sofala provinces of Mozambique.



Figure 2.50: 'Cottages from the Island's Point'. Source: <https://delagoabayworld.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/ilha-1910-1-in-petromax.jpg>

Additionally, as both images show unlike the traditional custom women here wear the cloth high enough to cover their breasts. This

is likely a result of both Catholic and Islamic influence on the sartorial and corporeal habits of East African indigenous people. This newly imposed relationship with modesty made it mandatory for indigenous women to cover their busts with a capulana and also to use a kimau (quimão, in Portuguese)⁹⁵.

This and other dress codes were in fact part of the intrusive ruling of Portuguese colonial power, and from 1915 on capulanas couldn't be worn in the more illustrious parts of the city, such as downtown Lourenço Marques (now Maputo). An excerpt from the newspaper *O Brado Africano* (20/11/1995 edition) accounts for this segregation among Mozambicans: "We do not come to the parade, of course, because some of us do not have boots, others do not have trousers – and one cannot walk downtown in a capulana – and still others do not have hats" (Zamparoni, 1998: 287).

From 1920 onwards, the presence of the new social category, the *assimilados* (assimilated)⁹⁶ becomes stronger, especially in urban centers where capulana tradition seemed to be threatened by the intrusion of 'commodity capitalism' (says Hendrickson, 1996: 3). Indigenous styles shared the visual Maputo landscape with *assimilados* and Western style clothing increasingly gained more presence as it was considered to be a visible symbol of civilization and cultural superiority. The impact of the European sartorial style and self-representation meant that European dress codes and body language were applied to inspire the ideology of a modernized nation or the very Western notion of modernity. The *garçon* style (illustrated as Fig. 2.51), a typical style from the 1920s Western culture was

⁹⁵ Zamparoni (1998: 287) refers that in the newspaper *O Brado Africano*, edition of 16/09/1911 was written as follows: "these members of the small bourgeoisie born from the land were convinced that the European-like garment was a form of insertion in the civilizing bed without their peculiar moral values and their relationship with the body and with pudor, therefore didn't hesitate in calling on the colonial authorities in order to force the use of pants for indigenous men and kimau (blouse) for women, or later, to make campaigns against to convince women to dress this way, like the one undertaken by Joaquim Stuart from the end of the 20's decade".

⁹⁶ 'Assimilated' (*assimilado*) and 'native' (*indígena*) constituted two socio-legal categories created by the colonial administration to categorize Africans. Officially, in the form of 'Provincial Ordinance' no. 317, January 9th, 1917, published in the 'Official Bulletin' n° 02/1917, became known as 'Ordinance of the Assimilated' (*Portaria do Assimilado*) or 'Order of the Assimilated' (*Alvará do Assimilado*), which divided society in three socio-juridical categories: (1) the *assimilados*, who were the 'civilized' Africans; (2) the *indígenas*, who were the 'non-civilized' Africans; and (3) the *não-indígena*, all non-native Europeans. For further analysis on this definition assimilated / native see Vladimir Zamparoni (1998): 467 – 471.

adopted and reinterpreted by local African women. The 'Colonial Act' of 1930 and the 'Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire' created a even deeper social differentiation translated into a hierarchical racial-based, relationships between the colonial settler and the native people. Sheila Khan, in her 2006 essay⁹⁷ refers that "Mozambican society was, from that moment, colonially divided in three different social categories: at the top, the white Portuguese; on the second level, the assimilados, mestizos, assimilated blacks and Indians (Penvenne, 1989)⁹⁸; and finally, on a lower level, the indigenous population (Khan, 2006: 8).

Although it is unquestionable that colonial presence tried to obliterate, if not change local patterns of consumption and sartorial styles, capulana was as versatile as resilient. This fabric remained a key element in the renegotiation of the boundaries whether between different ways of being Mozambican, or between what was called modernity and what was felt tradition (see figures 2.50 and 2.53 as examples). The year of 1930 brought a wide selection of capulana's patterns, such as paisley, big suns, dots, flowers, vegetal representation and stripes. By this time the kimau (quimão) had also been introduced in some Mozambican regions (see Figures. 2.55, 2.56 and 2.58).



Figure 2.51: 'Ladies of Quelimane', 1920. Source: https://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=22339910748&searchurl=tn%3Dafrica%2Boriental%2Bportuguesa%26sortby%3D17&cm_sp=snippet-_srp1-_image4#&gid=1&pid=1

⁹⁷ "Grounding identities– Afro-Mozambican Immigrant: Narratives on life and identity, and perception of a post-colonial Portugal".

⁹⁸ Penvenne, J. (1989). " 'We Are All Portuguese!' Challenging the Political Economy of Assimilation: Lourenço Marques, 1870–1933." In Leroy Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*. London: James Currey Ltd., 255 – 88.



Figure 2.52: 'Servants in Beira. Govuro'. Photographic Album: 1904-1934. Location: Companhia de Moçambique, nº de ordem 3015. National Archives of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Source: <http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=3682685>.

Mozambique's fertile land was ideal to produce cotton. And the northern part of the country was considered one of the most favourable areas for growing this natural fiber (Isaacman, 1996: 40). Eventually this led to the emergence of large concessionary companies, such as the 'Sociedade Agrícola Algodoeira', the 'Sociedade Agrícola do Niassa', the 'Companhia dos Algodões de Moçambique, João Ferreira dos Santos', etcetera (Isaacman, idem: 45). Local cotton production also favoured local capulana tradition. Previously, the Portuguese used to "take this cotton, spin and weave it in Portugal" (Torcado, 2006: 37), but in the 1950s there was an expansion of textile factories in Mozambique. TextAfrica, for example, founded in 1954, was one of the biggest textile factories in the country built by Portuguese regime under president António Oliveira Salazar. At first, this factory produced a specific capulana with a chequered pattern made with local cotton, very similar to the panos of Portuguese origin (for example figures 2.53, 2.55 and 2.58 show this pattern). The use of capulana, its colors and the various ways in which it can be combined become increasingly different from region to region and it has been worn in many different manners throughout the decades. The images below illustrate the differences between regions. Such differences can be found in the colors, graphic symbols and in the diverse ways capulana is wrapped around the body (figures 2.53 to 2.57).



Figure 2.53: 'A group of girls from Mambone', 1931. Digital source from the National Archive of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Source: <http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=3682717>



Figure 2.54: 'Girls from Covuro', 1930. Photographic proof n°53. Digital source from the National Archive of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Source: <http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=3682689>.



Figure 2.55: 'Scene at the native market', 1940. Source: temporary availability on EBay.



Figure 2.56: 'Women from the Island of Mozambique'. Photographer João Manuel Botelho Coelho Borges. Source: temporary availability <https://www.flickr.com>.



Figure 2.57: Left: Technical drawing of the capulana shown on Fig. 2.61. Right: 'Maconde women on a festivity day', 1960. Photographer Jorge Almeida. Source: <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt>.

2.5.2. Brief overview of the evolution of capulana printed designs at the 2nd half of the 20th century

The second half of the 20th century witnessed the revival and solidification of key-items that brought forth Mozambican tradition. By 1975, the newly socialist-oriented government re-enacted capulana as a symbol of Mozambiqueness, inspiring President Samora Machel to build capulana factories in every province of the country in order to dress the Mozambican people (Magalhães, 2006: 173). At

the urban centers, capulana was still an item of little note for the rich classes, but frequently worn by *mamas*. Once again, the chequered capulana becomes one of the most popular patterns amongst Mozambican women. As shown in Fig. 2.59 the traditional cloth has made it all the way through civilizing colonial resiliently adapting and combining with non-African, non-traditional pieces of western ready-to-wear with the cloth. After the 1975 independency the return of a grassroots movement, brought back the traditional East-African cloth to the center of the political project to help reconstruct a shattered

Mozambican identity. Capulana became an important vehicle for mobilizing nationalist intellectual and cultural affirmation. In the aftermath of colonial independence, capulana designs “seem to have been used to promote and cultivate a sense of nationalism amongst population” (Clark, 2005: 92). Even if in cosmopolitan environments there were still more people wearing Western style clothing, by the 1970s, amidst the struggle against colonialism, the mood for nationalistic and African pride inspired the desire for reviving capulana. The geometric cuts of the tunics (in hippie style), highly fashionable at the time, were favourable to the use of the central motif at the front of the newest capulana dress. Capulana was easily transformed into fitted-cut-clothing inspired by “North Africa and India, such as the shift or the flowing tunic dress” (Mêmê, 2006: 41). As shown by the next group of images exemplify how versatile capulana can be: so cosmopolitan and fashionable, as it’s traditionally rooted in Southeastern African imagery. From the North to the South of the country, capulana rapidly became an icon with: “...vivid colors and more classical in the South of Mozambique and brighter colors and Arab influence in the North” (quoting Mêmê in Torcado, 2006: 38).



Figure 2.58: "Maconde woman". Mueda. 1968.
Photographer Carlos Lopes Bento. Source: temporary availability <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/3263294>.



Figure 2.59: Cashew factory workers wearing the combination of capulanas with Western ready-to-wear pieces ca. 1960. Source: <https://delagoabayworld.wordpress.com/2012/02/23/fabrica-de-caju-em-mocambique-anos-1960>



Figure 2.60: 1st May 1976. Samora Machel assigns the name of Eduardo Mondlane to the University in Mozambique. @verdade newspaper. Edition 23, year I. 30th January 2009, pp:15 . Source: http://www.verdade.co.mz/static/pdf/AVERDADE_ed23.pdf

Since its independence, Mozambique underwent a process of discovery of its own traditional sartorial heritage and started to revitalize its textiles, more particularly capulana. This effort has been integrated in a national rhetoric around Mozambique's real origins and culture. A process of nation building, to which Benedict Anderson (2006) coined the term 'imagined communities', puts capulana at the heart of this lively tradition with its epicenter in the Island of Mozambique where capulana fashion has become an object of cultural interest. Here, the traditional costume portrays a complete capulana look, consisting of a capulana cloth used along with a tailored blouse (the *quimão*- Fig.2.61). An embroidered cotton lace and gold filigree collar enrich and complete the set. Also a jewellery belt is worn above the breast level, to not only shape the silhouette into an Empire-like cut enhancing the dress itself, but also works as an essential accessory to hold the outer capulana in place (see Fig. 2.62).

Fig. 2.63 shows that the outfit can be presented and combined in different ways. The woman on the left is wearing the traditional dress, comprising three capulanas: the first as the undergarment; the second the cloth that crosses and covers the body's upper part, and the third that crosses and covers the body under the waist. These pieces all are worn over the traditional tailored blouse

quimau. A smaller wrapped around headscarf completes the outfit. Apparently, all the capulanas are from the same patterns, only the quimau seems to be made from a different one presenting a simple modelling-base built from two rectangles of fabric that form the bodice and the sleeves.



Figure 2.61: 'Quimão from the Island of Mozambique'. 2011. Courtesy of D. Rosa. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

Together with the tailored *quimão* (quimau), the area around the breast can be also ornamented with beads and several pieces of gold around the neck commonly matching the earrings set (as shown in Fig. 2.62).

In Fig. 2.63, the woman in the middle wears the capulana in the Islamic way wrapped like a veil over the head. She wears a pair of capulanas made of the same woven crosshatch pattern cloth. Finally, the woman on the right wears what is known as a version of a work outfit, using just one printed pattern capulana folded and twisted around itself to form a round cushioning as head support to carry weights (in Portuguese this is called 'rodilha') over a headscarf wrapped around. Unlike the other two women in the picture, she is neither wearing a capulana as skirt but a black cloth, nor a *quimão* but a white cloth covering the bust area. The simplicity of her outfit is counter-balanced by the richness of the ornamental jewellery she wears around her neck.



Figure 2.62: 'Detail of the jewellery used by Macuas'. Courtesy of the photographer Jorge Almeida, 1980.

All these images seem to illustrate that in the last decades of the 20th century, capulanas, once simply used as traditional customary garments, have become strongly linked to its East African grassroots and moreover to an increased sense of cultural and social belongingness and nation building of modern Mozambique.



Figure 2.63: Three women from the Island of Mozambique. 1980. Courtesy of photographer Jorge Almeida.

Regarding patterns, except for the chequered version that became more of a classic reference, other more decorative and figurative motifs have continued to have a strong Mozambican presence both in rural and urban areas. Given its resilient permeability to innovation, capulana formal features evolved with the development of printing techniques, yet always preserving its traditional typology to this day. Its main characteristics are the central pattern with a border and two long edges with motifs that often include social and political messages. In addition, some of these printed messages can also incorporate “patterns and texts referring to alphabetization campaigns, party celebrations, WMO⁹⁹ conferences” (Isaacman, 1996: 9). Some drawings were made or suggested by

important people from the political league, but in other cases the new ideas came straight from the population, herein evidentiating extemporary creative and sustainable processes of Co-design. This is the case of the ‘Kanji’ warehouse, for example, that created in 1980’s their own capulana prototypes with the help of Dona Cacilda and other mamas (Tembe & Cardoso, 1978a: 22).¹⁰⁰

Local capulana production in Mozambique ended around the 1990s¹⁰¹. Since then, the main production has come from India and China, and some few others from the United States. The rise and the fall of locally produced clothes, the 90’s positioned capulana fashion between the embodiment of an absorbed local nationalism and the activist movement for change. In other words, capulana was

⁹⁹ The Organization of Mozambican Women (WMO) was founded in 1972 even during the armed struggle. With the country’s entry into the multi-party system, this women’s organization has established itself as the women’s organization of the Frelimo party. So today WMO is a democratic organization, which is part and is supporting the political party at national level

¹⁰⁰ Further analysis of Co-Design is highlighted in chapter 4.

¹⁰¹ The three most important factories closed in the 1990s, because of the civil war: TextAfrica in Chimoio, Texmoc in Nampula and Texlom in Maputo.

used both ways, in a traditionally wrapped manner (preserving the original form of a rectangular piece of fabric) or worn in the form of draped or cut-fitted garments in a wide range of styles. And till today this Mozambican iconic cloth continues to communicate an inclusive vision of national identity that has helped to raise an ongoing [political] struggle for the preservation of Mozambique's cultural heritage upon traditional revival (see Figures 2.64 and 2.65).

In the group of images shown in this chapter, we can see that capulana designs are also used to differentiate and emphasize local ethnical distinctiveness. Other images show how a pattern can prevail over time and become a classic ¹⁰², at first being used mainly by the wealthy classes and then becoming accessible to the whole population. This is the case of the chequered/tartan capulana pattern. According to authors Fee and MacKenzie (2014)¹⁰³, it was “made by weavers in southern Arabia for the East African market”. These chequered wraps using two different colors of cotton fibers became one of the most popular capulanas throughout the decades of the 20th century, worn till today as a symbol of tradition. The tartan capulana when transformed into a *mukume ni vemba*¹⁰⁴, it becomes a social symbol (see figures 2.68 and 2.69) with larger representation in everyday's sartorial.

Deeper analysis on its origins of the chequered/tartan capulana pattern

On their article “ Mozambican Capulana: Tracing histories and memories” Arnfred and Meneses (2015:15) referred that chequered capulana are called “Portuguese Capulanas”. The authors describe these capulanas as “slightly larger, made of heavier cotton material, and somewhat like Scottish tartans, though in cotton (not wool) and in different colors: black, dark red, off-white, sometimes with a string of blue”. Curiously this chequered cloth has also similarities with the



Figure 2. 64: ‘Terra incognita’ (Unknown Land). Niassa, 2002. Courtesy of the photographer Sergio Santimano.

¹⁰² A similar reference is made by Hilger (1999: 45) when studying *capulana*'s homonymous fabric, the *kangas*, asserting that comparatively to the phenomenon associated with the ‘classic’ *capulana*, with *kangas* also “certain ‘classic’ designs are favored and therefore reappear on the market, sometimes featuring different proverbs.”

¹⁰³ “Wrappers as fashion and fashion muse in the Western Indian Ocean “ The abstracts of this Conference are available on the following link: http://nonwesternfashion.org/?page_id=103

¹⁰⁴ The Mozambican local name given to the set of two *capulanas* made of the same checked patterned fabric woven together. Normally larger than the typical ones of around 1.70m, *Mucumi capulanas* can measure up to 1.90m to 2m long and are typically joined by a white lace, *vemba* can measure up to 1.70m. These *capulanas* are associated to wedding ceremonies when they are used to cover the bride's bed (see Fig.2.69), but they can also be worn as a regular garment, as shown in Figures 2.62 and 2.68.

Portuguese



Figure 2.65: Young girl wearing a capulana as a mantle, Bairro Maxaquene, Maputo 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

lenços tabaqueiros¹⁰⁵. This paragraph led me to a deeper reflexion on the origins of this pattern, and on the results of many centuries of commerce and cross-cultural exchanges. More particularly to rethink the possible relation of the pattern with the well-known Scottish tartan. From an email exchange with the archaeologist Elizabeth Wayland Barber (18/09/2015) on this matter her reply was:

“We archaeologists have found early checked (even-width stripes both ways) and tartan-type (uneven-width stripes in one or both directions) wool cloth in two places: One is in the salt mines in today's Austrian Alps, at Hallstatt and Hallein (hall- being an old root for ‘salt’). The textiles date to about 1300-400 BC, with the tartan-like type beginning,

apparently around 800 BC. I've republished a few in my book *Prehistoric Textiles* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 186-194, Fig. 7.1-2. There is also an early piece that was found in a Swedish bog (which, like salt, preserves wool well): p. 193, Fig. 7.5. The entire corpus of Hallstatt textiles, plaid and not, was recently published (dual language German and English): Groemer, Kern, etc., *Textiles from Hallstatt* (Budapest, 2013). These people were Celts-but no Celts had yet reached Scotland, so it is quite wrong to call them Scottish.

The other group is being found in the Uyghur Autonomous Region in Central Asia (administered perforce by China, but the local people are not Chinese; so saying these are ‘from China’ which is a thousand miles farther east, is also quite wrong). Furthermore, the people in the graves with these and other wool textiles are Caucasian (which the Chinese authorities hate!), and came in from the West with their sheeps (a western animal, not a Chinese one!) about 1200 BC, though the textiles are apparently a bit later (hard to say since the Chinese rulers of the area haven't done their work properly and won't let anyone else either, yet). I managed to publish a couple of those in another book: *The Mummies of Urumchi* (Norton, 1999), colour plates 13 and 14a, with Hallstatt textiles for comparison in pp. 12, and full discussion pp. 131-45. These people, too, are not Scottish and not even Celtic-but they are very distantly related to the Celts (as are we English speakers, along with the Greeks, Romans, Russians, etc.-all branches of Indo-European). They must have spoken either an Iranian dialect or a Tocharian dialect-both Indo-European languages. We know of other ancient peoples who wove tartan-type patterns, such as the Minoans and Mycenaeans, who were living in Greece and making such things already before 1400 BC- you can see them in their paintings (also discussed and illustrated in my first book). What seems to have happened is that when people started weaving wool, they began to weave twills, adding colourful stripes. Then someone got the idea of putting stripes in both directions, and that fashion spread to the Greeks, Celts, Iranians, etc., and spread across Eurasia with these various tribes- they were not Scots. The Scots just happened to maintain this technology longer than anyone else”.

Further research revealed that before 400 BCE, around the Hallstatt mines the Celts, who were living in central Europe at that time, were making plaid twills. In that same period the Romans began chasing the Celts out of that area. Few went southeast into Greece and finally Turkey (and eventually died out over

¹⁰⁵ See Lenços e Colchas de Chita de Alcobaça (Ferreira, 2001: 23)

generations), but the majority went southwest as far as the Iberian Peninsula, especially all across the north. Their presence was so strong that a Celtic dialect called Galician is spoken in NW Spain for 400 years approximately. Have the Celts introduced the habit of making plaids, maybe even plaid twills, in the region now known as Portugal? And, down the line, could the Portuguese have passed on this particular pattern in some of the areas they traded with? Textiles have always been amongst the most favoured articles to trade of because of its multiple purposes and commodity. Thereupon, it is not improbable to recognize formal elements of a celtic classic tartan pattern on Portuguese folk dress textiles and, thereafter, reminiscences of this on a chequered pattern capulana. Further investigation would be needed to solidify this supposition. For now, taking all this into consideration, the origins of the chequered form in East Africa are uncertain and can be looked at in various ways. Abiding to capulana's permeability to other cultures' influences this pattern has been one of the early designs mostly preserved till the present, in such way associated with Mozambican identity and tradition. Today it is still taken as inspiration or raw material by local fashion designers to present their modern view of tradition. Chequered pattern is a "classic" design that across decades (re)shaped womanhood and femininity. These capulana designs and other ones were significant visual vehicle to identify the identity and 'the place' of women throughout the various phases in their lives¹⁰⁶.

2.6. Tradition, Identity and Femininess: the intrinsic social value and meaning of capulana

Although capulana can also be worn by men (Hamid, 1996:104)¹⁰⁷ women assign to these cloth-garments a stronger meaning of belongingness or what is perceived to be their 'femininity' (after Yahya-Othman, 1997: 135). Embedded in its social, cultural, and political history this fabric has been taken by Mozambican women as a feminine tool of communication thru clothing and thus understood as social interaction (Beck, 2001: 157). It constitutes an emblematic material-cultural artefact that empowers wearers through non-verbal language enriching social relationships through the mediation of tradition. Here, capulana is the apogee of Flügel's theory presented by Roland Barthes (2005: 32) referring that: "Clothing is much more into communication than expression." In this semiotic sense, capulana can be seen as a symbol, because it is something that embodies significant values and references that create and communicate multiple meanings on a social level. Likewise portraying a message, a capulana ultimately communicates a particular message through its printed design style; reason by which slaves could not wear it, since they had no right to speak out their opinions. With slave liberation, however, capulana became a medium, a facilitator for the spoken/written word to be read, heard and transmitted across. The printings are meant to inspire emotions¹⁰⁸, raise awareness and mobilize action within a given social process. And, in a broader perspective, these empowering messages can be defined as fashion's conscious-matrix purveyed by the statements behind such visually strong communicative design motifs and messages printed on a capulana. Having accompanied every social development and all political and social transformations over the colonial struggle and beyond, capulana's motifs have adapted and evolved

¹⁰⁶ It is precisely because of these fact that this type of capulana will be used during the creative labs developed with the Young Mozambican women and further analysed on Chapter 7.

¹⁰⁷ See: Lenços e Colchas de Chita de Alcobaça (Ferreira, 2001: 23)

¹⁰⁸ About this subject see author Zafira Zawawi (2003) on the emotional categorization of printed messages on *Kangas*.

its meaningfulness time and again.¹⁰⁹

Despite each capulana has its particular commercial period, “Sold-out capulanas still exist and can be used for communication,” adds Beck (2001: 162). It is opportune to hypothesize that this transversal material and cultural property cues another justification for the true sustainability of this culturally and socially communicative sartorial-object. Since its design motifs are in fact never considered to be out of fashion, thus lasting visually and collectively in people’s memories, capulanas’ printed messages can preserve and adapt their meaningfulness across the times, here highlighting affectivity.

Some designs may only appear in the market for short periods of time, while others may be reproduced years later after its first appearance. Upon return these new-old patterns are remembered as a reviving sign of ‘tradition’. For example, today it is still possible to buy in Maputo’s capulana shop, the capulana amor de mãe (‘mother’s love,’ Fig. 2.66) or the capulana impala (‘impala’ is a medium-sized antelope in Eastern and Southern Africa, Fig. 2.26) that were printed during the 80’s, originally.



Figure 2.66: Pattern design capulana Amor de mãe. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.



Figure 2.67: The cutting process to make the jacket ‘Amor de mãe’. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

Although capulanas per se do not have a particular proverbial message printed on – as it happens with its homonyms cloths, the *kangas*¹¹⁰ – they all have a specific name. Generally, the baptism of a capulana is done either by the women purchasing it or by the person selling it, but its naming is always related to some actual major event. Most of the names refer to an historical fact that occurred at the moment the new design appeared on the market. And even though capulanas are endowed with social significance through the *uy*, these appellations may well have nothing in common with the designs printed on the fabrics themselves. Finally, the cloth only acquires meaning when it accrues its commercial value.

¹⁰⁹ See further developments on this particular subject in the section 2.4: Making of a visual diary: design orientation and motifs typology.

¹¹⁰ The author Shafira Zawawy (2005) distinguished the *kangas* in several categories that can be divided as friendship, love and wedding; hostility and resentment; family relationships; health; cooperation and competition; patience, tolerance and faith; experience, knowledge and action; kindness and generosity; greetings; and, political and national identity. In a *kanga* shop it is common to see *kangas* grouped by categories of feelings.

As categorized further down¹¹¹, these cloths have become remarkably associated with all facets of (East) African life. From the mundane and ordinary to the ritual and ceremonial level, every capulana's name conveys to very precise aspects specifically related to happenings, occasions, situations, and moments and therefore respectively associated with strong affective charges and memories.

Capulana Nkawakana (in shangan language) means 'long walk'. This capulana records the collective memory of a social condition: the repatriated people from Lourenço Marques (former Maputo). Under colonial interpretation and dictatorial misconduct, prisoners were forced to make the long walk from Gaza and Inhambane to Lourenço Marques. They were, handcuffed and accompanied by local indigenous troops, the sipaios¹¹². This capulana commemorates this particular moment of resistance.

Capulana Mudende symbolizes colonial domination imposed by a compulsory tax regime – the hut tax. During the 30's and the 40's, Mozambican women were required to pay an annual tax of about \$ 200 (€ 1) – or else forced to work in the plantations. This capulana reminds of that discrimination.

Capulana Makenzi ya Butsuine (Butsuine's testicles) record a real story about a man called Butsuine who never accepted to be polygamous and a tactic move to jump from woman to woman instead. Traditionally this capulana has bright colours with a yellow background decorated with red flowers.

Capulana Xirapatana was made in wake of a fever affecting many people. The association comes from the high fever that makes the sick body to move spasmodically much like in the typical dance Xirapatana.

Capulana deixa falar (capulana let them talk) worn when women want to communicate that they are ignoring what the other person is saying. This capulana is traditionally made in a chequered fabric.

In this way used as a support material to manifest more or less implied messages, many poets and artists acclaimed capulana as an iconic and essential element of Mozambican social life during the 60's and the crumbling of the colonial regime. Gathering in just one rectangular piece of textile the qualities of being materially ambivalent, versatile in form and function, and transversal to time, the cloth has won more and more power on social relations and interactions representing independence, autonomy and expression of a free will for people to preserve their collective heritage, memory and identity.

2.7. Cultural Patterns and Gender Identity

Surviving in its essential features throughout the decades, this symbolic cloth has been always deeply tied to women's role within society and, perhaps more importantly, to the construction of womanhood in East African cultures. Such is the case of Mozambique, where in the aftermath of liberation from colonial power all revolutionary social movements and political ideas surrounding the rebuilding of a nation raised capulana as a cultural national symbol herewith enhancing – from generation to generation – the perpetuation of values and norms of a newly rebuilt society.

Women have ever since had a major role in collecting and storing the valuable textiles for decades. By doing so, they are also preserving affection, kinship ties and cultural values, thus making them the social and cultural bearers of a common

¹¹¹ Excerpts from article published by Ofelia Tembe at *Tempo Magazine*, 'As capulanas têm vida e História', n° 386, p. 38.

¹¹² In India, *sepoys* were indigenous soldiers trained and dressed similarly to European troops. In late 18th century *sepoys* were deployed from Goa to the Zambezi valley to strengthen the defense against the Africans. Later on, when the Mozambique colonial government established an African company, these soldiers were also called *sepoys/sipaios* (Rodrigues, 2006).

national heritage, ultimately. They not only use these cloths in daily life chores and interactions, but also in family gatherings, rituals and special ceremonies like births, weddings, burials, and other main rites of passage. Yet more than a simple special garment to wear on special occasions, capulana also represents the act of sharing among each other women. On ceremonies, for instance, family members, choir or the members of the same village wear outfits cut from the same piece of capulana cloth. Here, the same capulana signals group identity and membership, similarly. Otherwise, specific kinds of capulanas are solely used on special cultural ceremonies.

Capulana plays a key-role in three fundamental rituals that are still practiced nowadays in Mozambican society: rites of passage, wedding ceremonies, and healing rituals. Additionally, to its many functions capulana is an essential element of sartorial, particularly worn at certain traditional dances, like the Tufo dances¹¹³ for example, practiced in the north. Signe Arnfred (2004: 43) highlights that “when new capulanas arrive, the member of the Tufo group assigned to this task will keep an eye out, and when she catches sight of a beautiful one in the appropriate colors, she will place an order with the trader for the number of capulanas which the group will need.”



Figure 2.68: Woman wearing a Mucumi capulana and headscarf. Maputo 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

Another important capulana is Mukume ni vemba (fig. 2.68 and 2.69 and footnote 107). About the singularity of this particular type of capulana, author Suzette Howana states that “the ladies who have mukume ni vemba want to show taste and refinement. These are people who live modestly and struggle with many difficulties to support their large families, but they are like others when they are dressed up. Traditionally those capulanas were used to save the precious goods of family and showed the social status of its user. A woman dressed like is expected to behave modestly, speak appropriately and be treated with reverence by everyone. She is called mapsele. Meaning in changana a possible translation ‘lady’ or ‘mistress’. In Inhambane and Quelimane the correspondant to mapsele is nuno. In Cabo Delgado, the Ibo, I believe, is sinhara.”

(2007: 5)

Another significant role capulana has, is its incorporation on rites of passage when the symbolic cloth accompanies all coming of age phases of a person or a group of persons. One of our fieldwork interviewees¹¹⁴ confirms that capulana plays a central role in the Makonde elaborated ceremonial rites of passage¹¹⁵ performed for adolescent girls to learn the key lessons on how to behave maturely and become stronger women advising that girls should never forget to “strongly tie your capulana, because you will behave as a stronger woman.” She explained that “these rituals can happen for a week or three months, depending on the wishes of the families who leave the girls at the care of the older women (the mamas) in

¹¹³ *Tufo* is a style of dance of Arabic/Islamic origin, traditionally performed by groups of women and accompanied by songs and the beating of drums. It is a colorful, joyful dance, where the bright *capulanas* (traditional skirts with vibrant colors) and the musical and choreographic talents of the dancers are combined to create an incredible experience, rich of its cultural heritage.

¹¹⁴ Interview conducted on 22nd May 2013 in interviewer's home, Barreiro. Lisbon

¹¹⁵ The author Antonio Roseiro in his dissertation thesis entitled ‘Simbolos e praticas culturais Makonde’ refers “The principle of female Makonde initiation is called kuvika in'goma and the end is Nkamango, it is happens on Saturday” (2013:85)- my own translation.

the first period of the rite. The mamas have the role of counsellors and teach a young girl on how to be a woman, and how to treat her husband. They give direct sexual instruction, including teaching how to hide menstruation; how to avoid judging looks from their future husband and from other people in general; how to pestle the cassava; and, also how to tie and use a capulana throughout the various stages in a woman's life. She still receives several capulanas during this period, and these capulanas will be both part of her trousseau and symbolize this date. On the last day of the ritual the girl's face, previously covered, is unveiled not only to her family members but also to other people so they can finally see the beauty of her face and offer her gifts. Further evidence is required to be displayed in public: the virginity of the girl." To prove it mamas and young girls must perform yet another ritual that the interviewer describes as: "One places a drop of castor oil in the girl's forehead so it runs down from it. If the drop runs straight down it means the girl did not deviate and so it proves her virginity. On Saturday, at the end of the ceremony, we all dance and the family of the girl dress up in the same type of capulana, meaning belongingness and oneness."¹¹⁶



Figure 2.69: Woman showing her Mucumi capulana. Maputo, 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

Capulana is also widely used at weddings, and mucumi (fig. 2.69) plays a special role on this ceremony. In southern Mozambique there is a special wedding ritual called *lovolo*. The *lovolo* is a marriage institution used to establish a 'bride's worth'. According to Bagnol (2008: 251) "This practice persists in rural areas and amongst middle and upper class people living in the urban areas in the South of the country." Here, again capulana has a decisive ceremonial role throughout the different phases of the ritual. As Bagnol describes (op. cit.): "in this ceremony the capulana is laid down on the ground and the bride's gifts are displayed on top of it." The author adding that: "the groom's delegation has placed a capulana on the ground, where they displayed the gifts of the *lovolo* [...] during the *lovolo* ceremony money was spread out on top of the capulana, representatives of the bride's father and mother family group are invited to take a bill" (idem: 253, 265).

¹¹⁶ Interview carried out on 22nd May 2013 in her house, Barreiro. Lisbon



Figure 2.70: A sequence of pictures showing the presence of the capulana worn by women and young girls in the Maconde ceremonies in Northern Mozambique, Maconde village, 2010. Courtesy of D. Juliana

Yet another attribute of capulanas is that they are likewise fundamental for traditional medicine practices performed by healers or witch doctors. The kind of capulana used in these particular rituals has a special design and colour palette and, according to traditional rules, only healers are allowed to wear them. In Southern Mozambique this capulana is called *nyanga* and it has only three colours: white, black and red (Torcado, 2006: 31). The most typical designs are the red sun the rooster (see Fig. 2.71) and the Guinea Fowl (see Fig. 2.72). It is common for people to offer the *nyanga* to the healer whose service they sought, honouring both the giver and the receiver, reciprocally. The last example (Fig. 2.72) shows a woman wearing a Guinea Fowl capulana with its central motif printed on the four corners of the cloth with four small size chickens. A round frame with chicken red symbols is placed around the central motif against a background of black polka dots over white.



Figure 2.71: From left to right: Detail of the rooster central motif of the healer's capulana and detail of the red sun central motif of the healer's capulana. The frame is made by designs of red and white paisleys combined with black and white stripes. Maputo 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho/ private collection of capulanas.

Previous images illustrated capulana as a piece of cloth being used to make multiple draping-wrapping forms, that overall contributed to the development of social relations, new forms of belongingness and being. But if we cut the capulana is the meaning of the cloth still there? I defend that the meaning of the cloth is on an uncut capulana. This has as a kind of sacred form thru framing its meaning fullness. However, because most capulanas don't have inscriptions, but names and these names are given and communicated as parts of local culture, women wearing a dress made of capulana, may still preserve the (traditional) meaning but translated in a new and contemporary form (as a piece of cloth). Otherwise it is on the cutting of the fabric that lies the skill to eternize the recognition and preservation (or not) of the original meaning of a given capulana. Thus, it is in the realm of clothing and fashion, that tailors have become important agents in shaping urban experiences and visually incremented new 'creative practices' (Grabski, 2009)¹¹⁷. They are fundamental to the comprehension of sartorial culture amid the complex intersections between local and global market variations.



Figure 2.72: Young apprentice with the typical Guinea Fowl design on capulana. Maputo, 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

¹¹⁷ In her 2009 work "Making fashion in the city: a case study of tailors and designers in Dakar, Senegal", Joanna Grabski presented a case study about tailors in Dakar, Senegal. She highlights the important role they play on developing the visual culture and expressiveness of local urban fashion. She recognizes that tailor's creative practices are based not only on the inspirations they get from field visual sources, but also on researching national and international fashion magazines, music videos and the Internet itself. Another major aspect of these tailors' creative practices is the constant dialogue they need to establish with their clients in order to create a particular and unique design. Referring to this creative method, Grabski stresses that since tailors usually sketch out the designs with the client yet modify them as the work goes on, this shows that not only they have technical expertise, they also demonstrate an insightful sense of creativity.

2.8. The tailormade Capulana: Historical Perspectives on The Craftmanship

Across decades, traditional tailors got used to work on single garments from source to completion, developing a meticulous work under a slow rhythm of production, in small manufacture runs.

The cultural value of this knowledgeable profession elevates them to a certain social position. Indeed, being a tailor in Southeastern Africa means both to proudly preserve a traditional craftsmanship and to become Western clothing remodeller. This is specially true from the 70's onwards (as for example images 2.60, 2.77 and 2.78 reveal). Learning old skills and timely adjusting to modern fashion trends and their clientele, these tailors carry on a legacy of experience and creativity combined to produce unique garments and amplify an intimate connection between know-how and oral tradition. Yet, forging ahead new times and influences, these traditionally trained tailors are also capable of conceiving a 'fashionable' world-to-be. This meaning, they pass on new trends and styles to their particular clienteles and the community in general, thus helping to shape local visual culture. Many of them holding small-scale businesses are engaged in the development of local fashion, aesthetically, socially and economically.

From time immemorial, bridging many generations of masters and disciples, traditional tailoring training has become (in a wide range of African regions) today's hinge that links past and present, and preserves the cultural roots of this craft's cultural knowledge. But this knowledge based on an apprentice system (as section 2.7.1 will show) has not a linear growth. In late 1800's the way of learning tailoring collide with the missionary educational principles aimed to intrusively civilize every indigenous practice, as section 2.82 will discuss.

2.8.1 Apprentice system

Traditionally, in most African countries after its historical roots, sewing has been a male activity and Mozambique was not an exception¹¹⁸. To become well trained in such dexterity, it requires these tailors to start training at the tender age. Jawando, Samuel and Hadunaike (2012:180) define apprenticeship as "training in art under a legal agreement defining the relationship between master and learner and the duration and conditions of the relationship." Lave (1977:177) who conducted an extensive study with a group of the Vai and Gola tailors in Liberia, highlights that "inductive transition of knowledge is the most common mode of teaching/learning in apprenticeship". Concluding that from disciples to master (protégés to mentor) this learning provides an individualized and realistic learning setting so that "apprenticeship happens as a way of and in the course of daily life" (Lave, 1991: 69-70).

Since early times, 'speaking', 'watching' and 'listening' are the chains for knowledge transfer and an apprentice can spend all day by his master's side. Gradually, the master asks for errands, and then the apprentice can start doing small sewing services, like putting on a button or hemming clothing, delivering garments, picking up threads to etch cutwork, etc. Only after this first step can the apprentice start making a simple garment from scratch. Some tailors start making

¹¹⁸ Only after Mozambique's Independence in 1975 the government decided to strongly recruit women for garment factory working activities (see Sheldon, 1998: 622).

men's shorts without a zipper as their first sewing assignment. Others start by sewing children clothing instead. Apprenticeship may also include the task of assisting the master in his house whether making food, washing clothes or cleaning the house. But whether sewing a garment or cleaning the workshop, *capulana* is always at the center of this learning.

Unlike formal schooling (as conventionally called in Western terms) young tailors-apprentices learn by doing¹¹⁹, and from master to disciple this word-of-mouth hands-on instruction is richly based on lively experiences that continuously share the tailor's trade skilful details and secrets, and are brought to life by every new stitch of the young apprentice. However as next section will discuss, tailoring craftsmanship has risks of its disappearance.

2.8.2. Intrusive Education for Tailors in Mozambique: The Colonial Missionary Project

The last phase of colonial presence (1890's – mid 1970's)

As advanced by Meneses, "with the division of Africa, by the end of the 19th century, the development of the Science of Colonization takes place aimed to expand the civilizing missions in the demand for rescuing the souls of the Africans"¹²⁰ (2009: 71). This was a propitious period for further arrival and establishment of an even stronger European colonial enforcement. And, not surprisingly, the non-formal traditional tailoring learning method soon clashed with those missionary educational principles aimed to radically redirect and change the original social and cultural structures.

The Portuguese missions were implanted in Eastern Africa between the first Republican period (1910-1926) and the Second Republican Period – also called *Estado Novo* (1933-1974), with the main goal to civilize the native Africans. This civilizing project included a radical change in the way native people¹²¹ dressed accordingly to their traditional customs. Naked bodies were then against Western morals. Hiding the bust was thus mandatory. Therefore, in order to make it easier to implement proper attire for

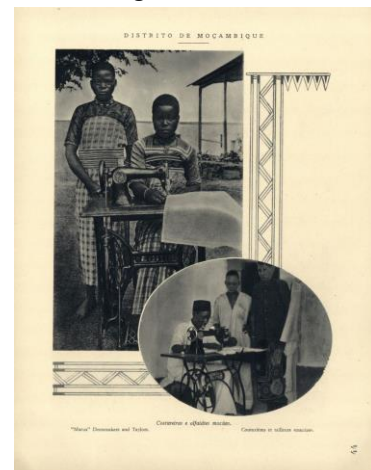


Figure 2.73: 'Macua' dressmakers and tailors' photographed by Santos Rufino. Source Albúns Fotográficos e descritivos da Colónia de Moçambique, 1929.

¹¹⁹ Curiously enough, early 20th century colonial missions followed similar teaching methods in their westernizing sewing classes for both boys and girls. In Mozambique, Governor Freire de Andrade (1906-1910) adopted the Anglo-Saxon pedagogical approach (*learning-by-doing*) as a common practice to teach the indigenous population. Ana Isabel Madeira (2007:163) stresses this point quoting governor's words defending that such practical approach should be applied to: "the elementary education, this is to the reading and writing of whether the indigenous language or of the Portuguese language (...) along with the technical instruction." This should all be summed up to the first and second grades' programs at the primary instruction school level (the 1st grade corresponding to all first, second and third primary instruction grades in the metropolis, and the 2nd to the fourth grade). The adequate education for the indigenous should be therefore essentially practical and of 'professional nature' (Ana Isabel Madeira 2007:296, citing Andrade, 1907: 372-373). And many women who went to school in colonial missions learned how to sew at early age.

¹²⁰ My translation after the original.

¹²¹ I must refer that local Muslims cover their bodies, whereas others did not. There was not a single 'traditional' code of dressing. The colonial rule was mainly applied to the natives that used only the cloth waist down and exposed their breasts.

African women and their children to dress like Europeans¹²², learning how to sew was a great part of the colonial education project for the indigenous. Nuns were deployed to teach sewing to children and youngsters. An important fact to note is that the target public of the colonial missionary educational plan did include local established tailors. As Sheldon highlights (1998: 556), during this period “in colonial Mozambique garment factories’ workers as well as Muslim tailors in small shops were almost men (who did not necessarily have mission training in sewing¹²³).” But the women on the contrary, would sew clothes for their children at home. Moreover, particularly intrusive, this mission training aimed to moralize, under Western standards indigenous population and their traditional sartorial, implying covering the body with ‘proper’ clothing including the breasts. Learning how to sew also allowed local dressing habits to change, replacing the traditional wrapped-around capulana by new sewn clothes. As Zamparoni explains, in the context of the natives colonial education program, “some of the proposed skills were not only aimed at changing secular habits, but also at providing for needs that resulted from colonization and urbanization, such as creating tailored clothes to replace the capulana wrapped around the body, which did not need needle and thread, gum or ironing.” (2002: 442). Clearly, this new teaching¹²⁴ on Southern Mozambique, Maputo¹²⁵, was based solely on the way Western-style clothing was made and so, whether in terms of fabrics, sizes or pattern cutting, it did not include any sort of reference to African tailoring and cultural dressmaking practices, nor to the styles and textiles traditionally used.

From 1930 on, the colonial government decreed¹²⁶ that trade schools must become the answer to the practical training of the natives. In his articles entitled the ‘Perpetual Female Slaves’ and the ‘Practical Teaching’: Race, Gender and Education in Colonial Mozambique, 1910-1930 (2002: 470) Zamparoni points out that “João Albasini, who was a man of Literature, defended the teaching of crafts at the official schools or at the missions, since he piously believed that “ work

¹²² As referred in the newspaper *O Africano*, (*The African*) January 23rd 1915 edition, in Zamparoni (2002: 468).

¹²³ By ‘mission training’ the author implies the teaching done by priests or other missionaries. In this case, these tailors did not have such training.

¹²⁴ “Primary education (both day and night classes) as well as trade school instruction ministered at public schools and missions were the main pillars of educational action, becoming later on an integral part of the training of indigenous teachers destined for the primary schools in the territory and for trade and agricultural training. Amongst the several schools built, special reference must be addressed to Beira’s Arts and Crafts School (starting to be constructed in 1905 and opened in 1907) directed by the Mission at Beira, with a boarding-school regime, ministering both primary and trade educations. This latter done through workshops of typography, bookbinding, shoemaking and tailoring. It was also created in the Mission at Chupanga a boarding-school for boys and, in Macequece, Vila Fontes, Chemba, Mossurize and Cheringoma, Arts and Crafts Schools, all starting in 1930.” (source: National Archive of Torre do Tombo. The Moamba School, as well as Alvor, was established late in the 1930s. The older one was at Ilha (Mozambique Island), since late XIX century (1879). In Joaquim José de Sousa (1938). ‘Escola de artes e ofícios da Moamba’, Moçambique: Documentário Trimestral, 15, 61-70

¹²⁵ This is the case of southern Mozambique, Maputo. In several northern places, where the contacts with Portuguese and Islam had a longer history, people knew how to sew clothes and for a long time.

¹²⁶ The *Colonial Act* is the first constitutional document of the so called in Portuguese *New State*, promulgated in July 8th 1930, by the decree n° 18 570, at the time when Oliveira Salazar assumed functions as Interim Minister of the Colonies. Paula Meneses refers in her article entitled ‘The African ‘indigenous’ and the European settler: the construction of difference thru legal processes’ that “The *Colonial Act* of 1930 replaced the Title V of the 1911 Constitution. With this Act the colonies were integrated within the Portuguese Nation, giving continuity to the colonial policy, consecrating the term Portuguese Colonial Empire, instead of the Ultramar [Overseas] one. Regarding the functions of this Empire, Article 2nd of the *Colonial Act* defines it in the following terms: It is organic essence of the Portuguese Nation to execute the historic function of possessing and colonize the domains overseas and of civilizing the indigenous populations comprehended within it, as well as exercising moral influence in it enrolled by the Eastern Patronage.” (Meneses, 2009: 85).

alone [would] regenerate an indolent race; only that [would have] the power to end at once with superstitions and make [that people] join the frank reunion of civilization.”¹²⁷ .

The same author (idem: 468) underlines that the new gender-oriented practice of sewing for girls, and tailoring for boys, became mandatory trading skills and an integral part of the technical teaching in name of the ‘Portugalization’ of the African natives. Further to this account, authors Noré & Adão (2003: 112) in their study focusing on the historiography of education for African indigenous in the former Portuguese colonies (Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau) refer that “the regulation of the decree-Law n° 309 from July 26th 1923 enounced that trade schools had the purpose to promote the improvement and moralization of the habits of the ‘indigenous’ populations’.” However, these new habits also portrayed a totally different mindset around the social organization of professional occupations, such as tailoring and sewing always done by boys and men traditionally.

Colonial trade schools’ programs were also meant to reassign each craft to its appropriate social role (and allocation). So the coursework was divided in its

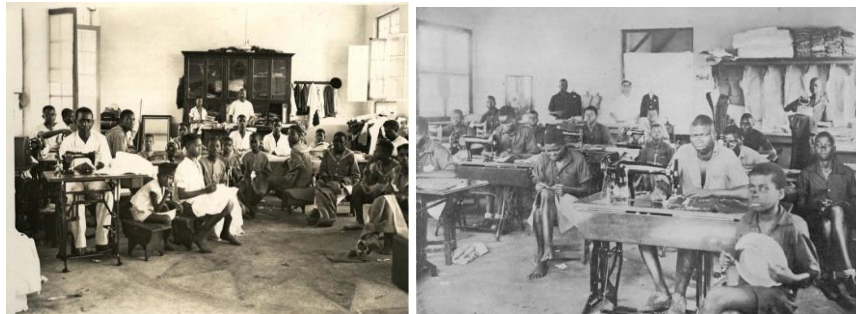


Figure 2.74: Left ‘Tailoring shop at the Arts and Crafts School’. Beira, 1930.

Source: [http://memoria-](http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=AFDCM/bnu_m_lm-09&p=52)

[africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=AFDCM/bnu_m_lm-09&p=52](http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=AFDCM/bnu_m_lm-09&p=52). Right: Tailoring shop. Source: Sousa, J.J. (1938). Escola de artes e ofícios da Moamba’, Moçambique: Documentário Trimestral, 15, pp.67. <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=MDT/MDT-N015&p=67>

respective gender up to Western society’s standards where after Sheldon (1998: 608) “ the sewing courses were not considered tailoring like the boys’ program.



Figure 2.75: The Boot Factory and the Tailor Shop at the Mission at Beira’ in Santos Rufino Photographic and Descriptive Albums of Mozambique Colony. Beira beginning of the 20th Century. Source: <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt> (temporary availability).

Frequent reference to the feminine curriculum for making boy’s clothes further emphasizes the idea of women doing such work as mothers and housewives rather than as seamstresses”. On the other hand, such westernized gender-oriented separation also institutionalized racial barriers. As Hailey alerts “the Education of the white child prepares him for life in a dominant society, and the

¹²⁷ My translation after the original.

education of the black child for a subordinate society” (1938: 1221)¹²⁸. This same ideia is reinforced by Meneses (2009) in her article ‘The African ‘indigenous’ and the European settler: the construction of difference thru legal processes’ stressing that the goal of colonialism was to ‘tame’ the native through education, to teach him how to work.

So, constructing a subordinate other, uncivilized, was at the core of the colonial project.



Figure 2.76: ‘Mission at Malaíça: teaching the indigenous how to work’, in Santos Rufino Photographic and Descriptive Albums of Mozambique Colony. Lourenço Marques, 1929.

The nationalist struggle for liberation (1964-1970’s) and the return of the iconic Capulana: a litigating revival

After the liberation from colonial power in 1975, no longer confined to the Western missionary regulations, yet embedded in a stronger wit, the practice of traditional African tailoring and the wearing of traditional African clothing like capulana regained their original place as a cultural symbol now re- imposed by the new government. The newly elected President Samora Machel would only revive capulana as the iconic emblem of Mozambiqueness right after independency with the inauguration speech. However since late 1960’s and throughout the 70’s, capulana had already slowly started to be used by youngsters as a subliminal instrument of rebellion charged with political meaning, reclaiming ‘Africa’ for the Africans, not conforming to any colonial cultural ignominy (or shame?)¹²⁹. During the 10 years period of colonial liberation¹³⁰ tailors had an important role in responding to people’s quest for regaining African pride. This included rescuing traditional local cultural forms of sartorial like capulana. Soon after the cosmopolitan look preferred by post-colonial young generations was achieved by mixing local capulana with non-traditional (and usually second-hand) street-wear clothes. It became common to make Western-style clothing with capulana or to combine it with capulana worn as a headscarf, a large sash around the waist, or even wrapped and draped into a dress. Most importantly, capulana was now a national symbol of Mozambican liberation against old colonial oppression, and

¹²⁸ For a clearer idea about the racial division of students in the different colonial districts read Ana Isabel Madeira 2007 PhD thesis focused on a comparative historical analysis of the discourses about education, instruction and schooling in Mozambique between 1850 and 1950 and, more specifically, her thesis’ ‘Annex XXII: School Movement, per districts, in the Province of Mozambique, referring the year of 1906’. (2007: 537-540)

¹²⁹ This social movement aimed to rebuild the nation’s pride of its truly meaningful African identity was rooted in American Civil Rights Movement led by Martin Luther King Jr. and on the great social activism boosted by Malcom X, Nkrumah and Mario Pinto de Andrade to claim to ‘return to the sources’.

¹³⁰ Mozambique’s Independence War last from 1964 to 1974.

assets Da Silva “many women participated in Frelimo’s army wearing the popular cloths, because they did not have uniforms enough for all and only the ones that had undergone formal training could use the military gear.” (2008: 112). If previously seen under colonialist discriminatory eyes as a primitive object merely to forswear indigenusness – “in capulana one must not go downtown” as it recorded *O Brado Africano* (The African Shout) in its edition of 11/20/1975¹³¹ capulana would thereafter become the proudest symbol of the newly liberated Mozambican nation. This strong political implication around the cultural rebirth of the cloth was gradually absorbed when tailors started creating new trends and patterns of clothing permeable to both African traditional sartorial and Western-style dress.

For more than three decades now, fashionable dresses, trousers, shirts, amid other kinds of clothing made with capulana (as well as with Wax-African prints) became a hit among culturally, socially and politically influential people (see Figures 2.60, 2.77 and 2.78). This proliferation of Western style clothing made with capulana, reached ¹³² not only geographically throughout the newly independent countries in Africa but amongst almost all the social ranks of its populations. It also propagated the introduction of African ethnical sartorial inspirations into contemporary Western fashion design collections withstanding till today any trendy changes of such whimsical realm. The rebirth of African style of tailoring however also shows a drawback to its original way of training; like a further analysis on this practice will be evidentiate on Chapter 3 (fieldwork in Maputo) and on Chapter 7 (action-research/case-study developed in Lisbon).



Figure 2.77: Eclectic 60's-70's sartorial ethnicity among young women in Lourenço Marques (nowadays Maputo). Source: <http://jorgequartinborges.wixsite.com/ilha-de-mozambique/espacoslm?lightbox=image1tha>



Figure 2.78: ‘A couple at Rua Araujo’
Photography By Rangel. Source: <https://delagoabayword.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/ricardonaruaaraujo1.jpg>

¹³¹ This citation appears on the PhD thesis of the author Valdemir Zamparoni (1998: 287).

¹³² This remarkable proliferation is highlighted by Crescência Nhamué in her 2004 research-project covering the period of 1994-95 thru 2001 in which she presents an exploratory analysis on the significant increase of imagery around and about African aesthetics that appeared in a vast amount of periodic documentation, namely the example she gives us with magazine *Tempo* in its editions from May 10th thru August 8th 1998. (2004: 38-40)

2.9. Conclusions

Capulana has emerged from the richness of the cross-cultural textile trading and clothing exchange around the Indian Ocean World, becoming overtime significantly important in social relations, cultural behaviors and identity building. In what concerns capulana's designs, the group of pictures shown in this chapter, reveal that long before the widespread adoption of tailored garments, this "wrap dress" was subject to fashionability, gauged by patterns, finish and color.

These cloths were subject to different cycles of fashionability, linked to local/regional, social and commercial trends. These images also reveal that capulana's designs have been gradually (re)invented for decades, creating not only a sense of belongingness and identity, but also stimulating local consumption, finally putting this cloth right at the center of East African market and local fashion system with its own cycles, trends and prices.

Mindful of all the historical influences and cultural transferences capulana was permeable to I'm compelled to rethink the idea of tradition related to the cloth. If capulana must be in fact considered a traditional cloth, then the concept of tradition is, apparently, in such case of an oxymoron nature. If tradition is commonly associated with a permanence of non-changing habits, capulana's moving permeability prove otherwise. It has translated an innovative design updating over the decades and a constant renewal of social, cultural and political statements embedded within fashion and tailoring.

The epistemic contribution of this research aims precisely to highlight this essential particularity of capulana. Apparently, its traditional features have the potential to be continuous present-day novelty. Moreover, most of the visual elements displayed in this chapter are directly linked to cultural core concepts of D4S embodied in the traditional East African cloth as they are used to make precise statements about the social (and cultural) belongingness of its wearers. Central to my thesis, these cultural concepts have been here defined as Slow-fashion, Affectivity and Co-design (further developed on chapter 4). Upon the research material assembled in this chapter it is necessary to contextualize the actual scenario in which the traditional cloth is integrated in everyday clothing styling. The results from the fieldwork undertaken in Maputo will be presented in the next chapter (3): Coolhunting: Fieldwork Market Research in Maputo.

Chapter 3 Observation of the Present. Coolhunting: fieldwork Market Research in Maputo

The actuality of my thesis project implies to framework a better understanding of the way local Mozambican fashion – particularly the one inspired by or integrating capulana – is still interpreted and produced. For that same purpose, and before starting the practical workshop series in Lisbon, it became necessary to travel to Mozambique for a first-hand study of the real context where urban fashion production happens in Maputo's metropolitan area. And after compare the results within the context of Diaspora, in Lisbon. So, coolhunting was undertaken in two different phases of my fieldwork performed in 2011, between Maputo (April-May 2011) and Lisbon (June-July 2011- here with the local African community).

The period of Fieldwork phase I, was crucial to guide me through the different steps of my research. Reformulating my main question onto – In a D4S perspective, how can everyday fashion based on capulana's tradition, contribute to reinforce identity processes and support cultural sustainability in the Diaspora? Later on it also helped me to expand the methodological approach towards the practical workshops undertaken in Lisbon with two focus groups: the African Immigrant Tailors and the Young African Women. The choice of these working groups was in fact only possible after observing and analysing more conclusive data about the problematic associated with the nowadays usage/wearing and production of capulana, in loco. Whether these practices were revealed by younger generations of emergent fashion designers or by many African tailors. Such usage, up-cycling and production of clothing from capulana makes them to be considered major agents of preservation and reinterpretation of this iconic cloth.

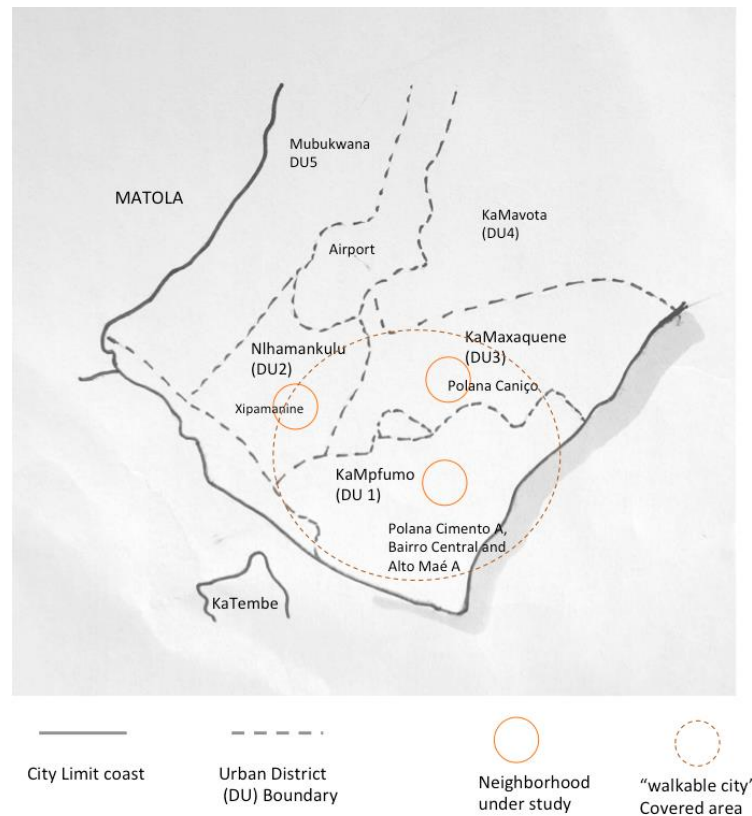
The first part of this chapter presents field notes and observations gathered in Maputo in 2011. Figure 3.1 shows the selected area of study. The, coolhunting research approach is mainly used here to explain “not only the fashion system but also many cultural processes of production and consumption of material goods rich in immaterial contents” (Pedroni, 2010). A daily immersion was combined with research techniques from anthropological and qualitative analysis. Ethnographic observation, informal and semi-structured interviews (sample of around 25 persons¹³³) with SHC wearers and dealers, tailors, fashion designers and retailers, came along with the analysis of the capulana cloths (as well as other sartorial) and the empirical data that resulted from the practical work done with some tailors at Janette's market in Maputo¹³⁴, and from a small workshop with a group of emergent African fashion designers. All allowed me to elaborate a 'situated' reflection based on the local context of Fashion. In turn, this reflection led me to a broader incursion thru clothing production and consumption, observing again with Pedroni (2010:3) the imminence of “the social trends linked to lifestyles,” while developing my sensibility as astutely as needed to better identify any socio-cultural signs at the street-life level as in looking at “fashion created by the bottom”

¹³³ Some of my interviewers will be identified with the name but other will be anonymous because they haven't revealed the name. Around 25 interviews were done during the fieldwork.

¹³⁴ To better visualize the whole tailoring working process in situ, I ordered some garment pieces for myself and, meantime the tailors worked on my dresses, I was able to perform brief interviews with them.

(idem)¹³⁵. This part of the research also concerned gathering information about youth consumer behaviour, local clothing production done by tailors and local fashion designers, meanwhile learning the way capulana is actually used in daily life, and aware of the expressive trends emerging from the street that often combine the usage of the traditional cloths (capulanas) with imported Western ready-made clothing.

Yet, apart from understanding the local Fashion system, I was interested in searching consumers' practices around daily selection, care, and purchase of clothing, which comprehends a parallel phenomenon to fashion trends in general.



Map 2: The fieldwork area covered by my research drawn upon an original document included in the project report 'Xiculungo Revisited'¹³⁶ by Paulo, Rosário & Tvedten (2011:12).

universe of emergent Mozambican fashion and street-wear, in particular, where costumers becomes authors of their own image (see figures 3.9, 3.16 and 3.17). The last section of this chapter, aims to highlight precisely how this more sustainable form of fashion is locally performed, wondering about the way the tradition of dressing capulana is interconnected with the wearing of Western clothing, in such way questioning (or answering?) many social, cultural, economic and political pre-and post-colonial happenings of the 20th century, as well as of the beginning of the 21st. Namely:

¹³⁵ As referred by Pedroni (2010:2): "The professional activity of the coolhunter, consisting of research into the emerging trends through observation out and about, was interpreted as the signal of the inversion of the rules that spread style and fashion I, that from the model trickle-down (from the social elite to the consumer masses) it passes to the other end to trickle-up2: it would be the young, the subcultures, the effervescent areas to produce, from the basics, style innovation that spread through the highest social classes

¹³⁶ My translation after the original title 'Xiculungo revisitado' in Paulo, M., Rosário, C., Tvedten, I. (2011) 'Xiculungo' Revisitado. Avaliando as Implicações do PARPA II em Maputo 2007-2010. (Report), CMI (Chr Michelsen Institute), Maputo.

The third part of this chapter focuses hereupon on the importance of SHC redefining the notions of being modern and, hopefully, to explain how the 'cast-off of the West' becomes a creative tool for self-styling within the

- How is it being (re)interpreted by the new generations of wearers?
- How is everyday clothing and fashion production locally done?
- How is clothing being (re)codified guiding new tastes and choices of particular groups of wearers mirroring the way they want to present themselves to the world?

3.1 Maputo: the universe of a Market Research

Maputo¹³⁷ is a pluralistic city on the Eastern African littoral which multi-cultural population is mainly composed by “Mozambique Africans, Malagasy, Comorians, Swahili, Antalaotse, Arabs, Indians, Portuguese, and mixtures thereof, not to mention Dutch, English, American and French traders” (Alpers, 2009: 180). The statistical profile of the Municipality of Maputo shows that these are around 1.6 million inhabitants in the capital area. Occupied by the intrusive ‘presence’ of a strong colonial past¹³⁸, and long after followed not only by a war of Independence (1964-1975) but also by a civil war (1976-1992) mainly fought in the interior of the country, the city of Maputo has since then regenerated “from coexistence between formal and informal planning activities and ‘informal’ acculturation of the formal – resulting in new types of dwelling, use and ownership.” (Viana, Sanz & Natálio, 2013: 19). It is a city ‘manufactured’ in real time exposing particular modes of producing the urban space. The informal economy is a recurring practice and throughout the city informal ‘clusters’ have been born, ranging from housing to trade and an array of other services. From my own experience in the field, I come to agree with the author Nhatsave when he says that the “Economically Active Population (EAP) is mostly in the informal sector.” (2011: 7). On that matter, I observed that selling clothing, for instance, is a very common informal socio-economic activity. Everywhere there are small informal ‘shops’ growing next to formal ones that sell clothing from all over the world¹³⁹.

Regarding Maputo’s street fashion, traditional cloth *capulana* is dressed with a rich mixture of styles, patterns, colours and materials in a symbiotic-like combination with imported Western clothes, SHC and tailor-made garments, thus showing that *capulana* ‘tradition’ is far more than a rural phenomenon, but also an urban one (see Fig. 3.1). This cross-cultural mixture of sartorial originates a kind of local everyday fashion so highly rich that itself justifies the visual experience one gets of African urban landscapes, or as pointed out by Grabski they are “a site for blending or *métissage* ideas from near and far.” (2009: 218). In short, Maputo shows off a complex visual sartorial panorama, which harmonizes tradition (i.e. the *capulana* dressed on the ‘traditional’ way: various levels of *capulana* and a headscarf), the fragmentation of that ‘tradition’ (i.e. *capulana* mixed with other ready-to-wear clothes) and a mix of clothing that comes from everywhere (including second-hand or new ready-to-wear clothing). Throughout the city there are both formal and informal shops, and also shopping malls where people can buy imported brands, though markets are still a focal meeting point for trading and

¹³⁷ Originally named by the Portuguese as Lourenço Marques in 1545, it became Mozambique’s capital in 1898. After the Independency in 1975 the city is renamed Maputo.

¹³⁸ The Portuguese insertion in Mozambique begun in the 16th century, but it is only in 1885 with The Partition of Africa at The Berlin’s Conference that Portugal becomes the *legitimate* military occupying country, and thereof gaining in the beginning of the 20th century the *legitimate* role of colonial administration. Mozambique became independent in June 25th 1975 after ten arduous years of war.

¹³⁹ About 200 *boutiques* are registered in the official database of the statistical profile of Maputo’s municipality.

shopping for clothing¹⁴⁰. It is also here that both capulanas and SHC, mixed with new clothing, are sold at lower prices. And, likewise, one can find a stronger presence of traditional African tailors playing a central role in actively developing local everyday fashion, whether partly by making traditional African clothing – mainly West-African style (like embroidered boubous) and tailor-made ensembles in colourful wax-print cloth – or by (des)constructing and (re)arranging used Western clothes that come in fardos (bales of SHC). Amongst Mozambican sartorial creation and trade professionals, apart from tailors, fashion designers have also been playing a major role in portraying and redefining East African garment culture and industry. Additionally, some of these fashion designers are now taking a considerable place at the National Fashion platform shown at the Mozambique's Fashion Week¹⁴¹ where their contemporary design collections favour both new models of traditional capulana, or a yet new combination of that cloth with an array of other textiles such as chiffon, jersey, lace embroidery and silk. Thus, showing us a prolific creative fusion of local resources with cosmopolitan styles.

3.2. Sartorial Identity Prints: Capulanar in Search for Mozambiqueness

As analysed in Chapter 2, since post-colonial times capulana has been branded as the symbol of Mozambiqueness (see Fig. 3.1) and the use of this traditional cloth (in its original uncut form wrapped around the body) has never been forgotten whether in social ceremonies, family festive occasions or as weekends' official apparel. Moreover, capulana is also a prime material subject of everyday dressing practices both in its uncut and modern tailored-cut forms¹⁴² that show an important somehow negotiated co-habitation (so to say) between the 'rural and the 'urban', the 'traditional' and the 'modern', and the 'local' and the 'global' realms (ad)dressing Mozambican's capital vast and rich urbanity. Hence, this is again a reflection of a local, yet spread-out, on-going negotiation between past, present and future, all happening within Maputo's urban society contemporary to the many whimsical influences of worldwide trade and media globalization¹⁴³.



¹⁴⁰ 67 markets are listed in the official database of the statistical profile of the Maputo's municipality.

¹⁴¹ Check: <http://www.mfw.co.mz>

¹⁴² In this sense, modern clothing is linked to the way urban society has contributed for the commoditization of *capulana* mainly through the creative influence of Mozambican fashion designers, local tailors, along with the influence that Western lifestyle magazines and the impact of Western fashion brands have had on shaping new forms of dressing *capulana*. For instance, it is common for costumers to ask tailors to copy a certain style of western dress yet using *capulana*'s cloth as raw material for the new garment.

¹⁴³ Check this video for a good example to illustrate how *capulana* and SHC are at the base of local fashion creation: <https://vimeo.com/103626151>.

Figure 3. 1: 'Back to roots' Xipamanine, Maputo 2014.
Courtesy of the photographer Celso Zaqueu.

During my informal interviewing fieldwork in the streets of Maputo, my perception is that, overall, people distinguish capulanas according to its aesthetic and material quality, as well as to the geographical origin of its 'printing'. Nowadays most capulanas seen, sold and worn in Mozambique, are produced in China, Indonesia and India, whilst some are still made in near East African neighbouring countries like Tanzania. After local factories were extinguished (during the sixteen years long civil war in the country) there are no more capulanas locally produced¹⁴⁴.



Figure 3. 2: A Tailor shop in Janette market, Maputo showing tailor made capulanas sewn into regular clothes. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

Some people remembered capulanas from Texlom mill in Matola, and also from TextAfrica mill in Chimoio, while Vlisco¹⁴⁵ is still a well renowned company for its high African wax prints. Many of the women I interviewed complained about the bad quality of capulanas that are sold nowadays in the markets: "Today [one mamana¹⁴⁶ told me] they put synthetic fibers in the capulanas, but they are of lower quality. Chinese are controlling the market of this production." Browsing around capulana's shops in Maputo, I could understand that there are so many different kinds of capulanas in a mix of cotton and synthetic fibers but the ones of lower quality seems to give an uncomfortable feeling to the touch. I also realized that the quality of printings compromised the durability of the fabric because a capulana may easily loose its printings over washing. One of the interviewed¹⁴⁷, a customer at a shop where I went to, sadly explained that: "It is better to have less capulanas, but a few good ones, than to buy a cheap Chinese capulana. I prefer to buy higher quality that comes from the West. African wax has the best quality, but nowadays is not so easy to find good quality cloths, like in our grandparents' times."

In terms of prices, one capulana may cost 160 meticaïs to 200 meticaïs (around 3 euros) depending on the seller. They can be bought in stores, like 'Casa

¹⁴⁴ For further information on this subject check economist Florêncio Chavango's interview for the Deutsche Welle (Germany's international broadcaster) where he refers that the country must invest in cotton harvest to recuperate local production of *capulanas* (Silvestre, 2013) available at <http://www.dw.de/capulana-pode-trazer-mais-ganhos-a-economia-de-mocambique/a-17166916>

¹⁴⁵ Check: <http://www.vlisco.com>

¹⁴⁶ This *mamana* was interviewed on the Jannette's market, on 14th April, 2011

¹⁴⁷ Interview in 2nd May, Maputo 2011

Elefante'¹⁴⁸, and 'Casa Guimarães,' or at the local markets, like Xipamanine where capulanas are commonly cheaper, one piece costing around 120 to 180 meticaís, depending on cotton and print quality. This business has been for long led by East Indian merchants¹⁴⁹, though it is not uncommon to find other textile dealers from West Africa, on the streets selling also wax-prints.¹⁵⁰

Another important aspect of capulanas' quality is the fabric's printed design on its own. Some of the women interviewed referred to the timeless 'classic' designs that are still being produced nowadays, like the 'Impala' capulana design (Fig.2.25) which after the owner of Casa Elefante, is an original hit from the 80's made by Texlom mill, and now still being produced in India for the Mozambican market¹⁵¹. Or the capulana 'Mother's love' of which I could find during my field study at least two different patterns with the same meaning/name ('Love of Mother') as shown in the pictures below (Fig.3.4 and 3.5). This capulana has the particularity of looking as being made by several different handkerchiefs sewn together, reminding us of the actual origins of these traditional cloths (see Chapter 2).

In Maputo, clusters of informal businesses selling many different kinds of clothing are spread throughout the streets, and here it is possible to find capulanas being sold along with secondhand clothing, shoes, belts, as well as other traditional types of cloths. It is also common to find peddling salesmen improvising their 'shops' by hanging secondhand clothing on the walls or gates of a private family house, for example.



Figure 3. 3: Capulana shop owned by East Indian traders in Maputo's Xipamanine neighbourhood. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho, Maputo, 2011.

¹⁴⁸ Founded in 1919. Their owners are of Indian origin (hindu) and there are specifically 97 years dedicated to the sale of fabrics and capulanas.

¹⁴⁹ Some women I interviewed referred that in Nampula East Indians control the market, but in Mozambique Island there are mainly Africans or Tanzanians who come to sell *capulana* (*kanga*) on the streets or shops.

¹⁵⁰ Normally, wax-prints' pieces come already cut measuring 6 meters long (or the equivalent to 3 cloths).

¹⁵¹ Interview with the owner of Casa Elefante, at his comercial house Maputo, 15th April, 2011.



Figure 3. 4: Capulana 'Mother's Love' with its classic iconography with of a flamingo's mother feeding her babies. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho, Maputo, 2011



Figure 3.5: Another example of a Capulana 'Mother's Love' with its classic iconographic print of a mother feeding her nesting babies. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho, Lisbon, 2013.



Figure 3. 6: West African fabrics peddling sale in the streets. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, May 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho, Maputo 2011.

Maputo has a lot of ready-made clothing stores, however there is still a general preference for the garments made and sold by traditional tailors at their workshops in the markets or along the streets. And, it is so much so that it is possible to affirm that tailors are the main economic, social and cultural players in the clothing/fashion professional business. And their work with capulana is an answer to the search of Mozambiqueness. As further developed in chapter 5, usually tailors work in their little workshops located either in the streets, their own house porches or at their establishments in the local market. Whether at their improvised shops on the street, or at their own ateliers, many tailors also work directly with fashion designers. This professional interaction between traditional tailors and fashion designers is quite important if not necessary to response to an increasing external, but also internal threat to the local/national garment production. One of these major internal threats is the lack of infrastructure for a real educational training in fashion design and clothing production in the country. Because of that many local Mozambican fashion designers travel to Europe or to South Africa to enrol in short-term programs in some fashion related areas of trading, or to attend a fulltime program for a longer period of time. From the informal interviews performed with some fashion designers in Maputo¹⁵², I could understand that most of them tend to break with the traditional way of draping and dressing capulana, but still use it to design modern patterned silhouettes instead. This seems to be in fact their creative proposal for a new form of dialogue between East African sartorial tradition and modern African fashion, thus no more seen as a merely ethnic source of inspiration, but rather as a contemporary design approach to the country's cultural heritage reality and to the world¹⁵³.

In short for both fashion designers and tailors, there's still a preference over fitted-cut dressmaking rather African oriented than draping techniques. Maputo's urban fashion is in permanent construction, transition and (re)definition, and (as analysed in the next sections) local fashion designers along with tailors; the flux of imported international /Western clothing (specially secondhand one)¹⁵⁴ and an increased style awareness of Mozambican urban population for sartorial may well all be responsible for such particular fashion reality. The advent of local notions of being modern are showing how diverse multicultural influences, a present driven from its colonial past and the responsive attitude of local fashion creative agents do all contribute to redefine, and preserve, East African/ Mozambican traditions.

3.3. (un)Sustainable Tradition: Local Notions of Being Modern and Breaking with Traditional Patterns

My fieldwork observations have brought me to assert that in order to understand everyday dressing practices in Maputo's reality it is important to take in account the country's history of clothing trade at least in its recent past throughout the 19th century, and how that influenced the people's habits and social constructions around sartorial.

As mentioned in chapter 2, foreign items were for brought long in to the East

¹⁵² The interviewed emergent fashion designers were Cigarra Perrin (16th May), Isis Mbaga (4th May), Angela Alfaluale (14th April), Lucinda Mucumbi (28th April) see complete references at the last section.

¹⁵³ On her book, *New African Fashion*, author Helen Jennings (2011) shows how African designers are looking beyond the clichés around African aesthetics by incorporating in their creations both traditional and contemporary fabrics and garments, and how embracing the passion for ethically and environmentally conscious clothing is fueling this trend.

¹⁵⁴ As will be discussed in section 3.4, Western ready-to-wear clothing (mainly made in China) and also SHC are major external threats affecting the demand for tailor-made clothing.

African coast helping to shape identities, fashions and consumer preferences. Among favourite imports, Western clothing indeed acquired 'new' formats, functions and cultural meanings to its curious and upbeat wearers. As pointed out by Prestholdt (2008: 10) "Zanzibar used consumer goods such as American clocks, British handkerchiefs and India umbrellas to create and challenge new social and material sensibilities in the second half of the nineteenth century."

Across the 20th century, amidst the arrival of such novelties, *capulana* was already a product of great cultural permeability. Its trading geographics, involved not only commercial and economic, but also aesthetic and cultural transferences between African, Indian, Arab and European countries. Moreover, this melting-pot of cultural influences accentuated the importance of clothing in shaping and building new identities. Western dressing practices became an instrument to adjust individual consciousness of style albeit the representation of the 'western-way' of being and acting socially proper and correct (see Fig. 3.8). During the Portuguese colonial administration, officials carried on a policy of 'assimilation'¹⁵⁵ for any native individual who would convey (only) to European normalizing manners of conduct and ethics. That included wearing Western clothing along adopting other foreigner dressing and acting habits. Resiliently, *assimilados* (assimilated) turned the norm into an opportunity to confirm their new socially rising status by being 'modern' distinguishing themselves from their indigenous past subjugated reality in the manners, education and fashions¹⁵⁶.

Soon with the intensification of a global clothing trade and the burst outcome of independency over colonial power, Western clothing became hereafter one main item of East African material culture withstanding an intensive and creative dialogue between "colonialism and conversion, ethnicity and nation, gender and generation, hybridity and cosmopolitanism, state-building and state authority, subjecthood and citizenship." (Allman, 2004: 5). Or, after Rovine (2004: 189) clothing turned into "a medium by which to declare local identities and a means of trying on new identities" (see for example Fig. 2.51: 'Ladies of Quelimane', 1920).

As argued by Sousa Santos, these colonial sumptuary codes led likewise to a doubled policy of 'dis-identification': "The *assimilado* became the prototype of a blocked identity, i.e. an identity between the prohibition of African roots and the restrict access to a western way of living" (2003: 44).

No matter how European dress style was regarded as a sign of civilization, rising signs of revolution were in the air to fight and break free from strict Western normative sartorial. Subsequently, the contesting younger generations started to express themselves by dressing up in both European and African clothing emphasizing their very own Africanitude, as a true statement of belongingness and grounding individuality and identity. Thereof it was common to wear miniskirts mixed with headscarves, and shirts with *capulanas* wrapped around waists or carrying babies with *capulanas*. So, in one hand, people had recuperated the style they considered to be typically Mozambican, and on the other, they blended it

¹⁵⁵ *Assimilados* (assimilated) is the term given to any African individual living under the Portuguese colonial rule, which had reached a level of civilization according Portuguese colonial legislation from 1910 thru the 1960's. Until 1961, under the colonial regime, the system of *indigenato* ('native-birth') divided African people from Portuguese colonies into two categories: the assimilated and the natives. To have the category of an *assimilado* meant (accordingly to Meneses, M.P. (2003: 109): "...to have a birth registration, an identity card, register properties (for example lands and tenement) and the right to appear before the courts for the resolution of conflicts."

¹⁵⁶ This video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rmu6VGQEc60>, *A Cidade de Lourenço Marques*, portrays the way people used to dress in colonial Lourenço Marques urban center. At minutes 1:49 to 4:54 we can identify the *assimilados* dressed up in colonizing normative attire. Yet at minute 8:23 to 8:50 the video depicts women from Xipamanine notoriously wearing the *capulana*. Also showing (at minute 8:53) longshoremen and railway workers wearing *capulanas* made of bark cloth.

with Western taste and apparel to complete the look. This new look reflected a compromising attitude through which youngsters could contest colonial normative dress codes by showing their pride of being Mozambican by using capulana. Meanwhile they still expressed the wish to keep on following a certain imported cultural dress practices, and the will to bring up Maputo to a worldwide cosmopolitan-like capital.

This innovative assemblage of Western clothing with African traditional cloth became a favourite medium for (re)creating the new post-colonial selfhood. As noted by Hansen for the Zambian context, this happening therefore justified, yet another, “consumer preoccupation with creating particular appearances inspired by styles and trends from across the world.” (2009: 118). Yet, Behrend refers that in the context of post-colonial Kenya, flowing international looks and wear imported Western clothing is actually a practice of developing “[...] a transcultural, global subjectivity that strongly opposed ideas of local Africa ethnicity and traditions.” (2002: 53) and thus of an important notion of self-creation. Additionally, Hansen and Madisson assert that “today’s hugely expanded availability of textiles and apparel not only facilitates individualism but also pushes the diversification of tastes in numerous directions, turning Africa consumers into arbiters of stylistic innovations that are contributing to offset fashion’s western hegemony.” (2013: 4).



Figure 3.7: “Kaya”. Maputo 2014. Source: <https://nzualonakhumalo.wordpress.com/2014/12/>



Figure 3.8: “Back to roots at Xipamanine Market”. Maputo, 2014. Source: <https://nzualonakhumalo.wordpress.com>.

Mozambican consumers use western clothing just as a complement to of other tailor made clothes from African traditional fabrics, fully expressing their own stylish interpretation of fashion and identity. Fashion designers and local African tailors, most specially, are a great help to search for that original style and look. As referred earlier, they are the central agents in Mozambican manufacture of clothing and fashion production, albeit not necessarily always at the speed of and in tune with global fashion trends. All together their creations are the result of a complex matrix intertwining traditional capulanas with modern garment lines, shapes, patterns, colours, etc.¹⁵⁷ When looking at fashion under the label 'made in Mozambique', fashion designers and tailors prove their importance for its development and in (re)inventing traditional African dress. Both can answer to the general desire for unique and singular styles. But one needs to distinguish as clear as possible between the two professions. Thereafter, capulana has been the privileged basis for the creative work [on its cut dress-form] not only of many Mozambican fashion designers, but also of many African tailors¹⁵⁸ from Mozambique and elsewhere in the continent. Whereas fashion designers may work more for certain elite, tailors provide the 'right answer' in terms of quality/price for the less affluent classes. Next section will give a deeper analysis on what differentiates both professions.

3.3.1 Locating the Tailors in Maputo

Despite the fact that most tailors live in poverty¹⁵⁹, the intrinsic value of this knowledgeable profession elevates them to a certain social position¹⁶⁰. Learning old skills, yet timely adjusting to modern fashion trends and their clientele, these tailors carry on a legacy of experience and creativity that meet together to create unique garments and amplify an intimate connection between know-how (Cultural Knowledge) and oral tradition. Yet, forging ahead new times and influences, these traditionally trained tailors are also capable of conceiving a 'fashionable' world-to-be. Not only they pass on new trends and styles to their particular clienteles and the community in general thus helping to shape local visual culture many of them also develop small-scale businesses, making them important social agents and cultural mediator in the development of local fashion with capulana.

As entrepreneurs they carry out micro-scale business where the competition is fierce. Therefore, it is common for tailors to compete with each other both aesthetically and economically, by developing models exclusively made for their brand's clientele. According to Grabski (2009: 226) this "emphasis on developing original designs also fosters intensive competition among tailors, resulting in the need to 'hide' designs before they make their public appearance". A master tailor can create exclusive models "with some samples on display that are not visible from the outside, and tailors do not allow anyone to see it unless they are

¹⁵⁷ From my fieldwork interviews undertaken in Maputo to some emergent Mozambican designers, I understood that most of them choose to continue their basic training attending further International programs to better develop their know how in their fashion area of expertise. Among the countries of preference, South Africa (mainly Cape Town), France and the UK are the most chosen to develop their knowledge and skills.

¹⁵⁸ As Jennings (2011: 9) highlights, and as much as we concluded on chapter 5 of this thesis, "Africa Tailors now form the frontline of Fashion, with those in Dakar and Bamako, especially renowned. Before Fashion design was a recognized profession, seamstresses and tailors were the ones who fed trends, and today's designers, most of whom operate from workshop-based production, remain reliant on their skills."

¹⁵⁹ This conclusion is based on my fieldwork in Maputo and Lisbon (see page 186). The tailors I've contacted and interviewed were living with a lower income.

¹⁶⁰ I found in Lisbon that all of the tailor's I've interviewed are registered as tailors in their passport documents, thus enhances their social and professional status to be justly recognized specially in Africa.

confident that the potential client is serious about buying” (Kirby, 2013: 71). As an intrinsic part of that broader marketing competitive strategy, tailors specialize their work and stocks at their workshops based on the diverse kinds of clientele they may look for or actually already have. Hence, each tailor’s differentiating knowledge and experience opens up a wide range of offers both in the kind of technical service as in the multiplicity of garments’ types and styles he produces. The ability to cut out a piece of fabric, to make bespoke tailoring or to make clothing (alterations) is the reflex of a long process of learning tailoring that often/generally started in childhood, as chapter 2 has described.



Figure 3.9: West African poster showing various models of *taille basse/pagne* combinations. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, May 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

The different levels of knowledge and experience open up a range of service offers and a multiplicity of production: some tailors only sew clothing alterations, others sew widespread models from posters exhibited at the shop. Tailors show a great affectivity with *capulana* (or other wax-print African cloths). Mostly they use original *capulana*, *kitenge* or wax-print fabrics to produce clothing after a more traditional African style (as referred on the footnote 3 – like *boubous*, *kaftans*, or the

taille-basse mixed with *banzê*¹⁶¹ - see also Kirby, 2013:63), or to “register” personalized models; or even to build new fitted garments as it is known for the type of clothing that follows Western aesthetics. Therefore, a master tailor can create exclusive models but also reproduce models borrowed from “images in local fashion magazines, programmes and performances on television, or customers’ own ideas” (Kirby, 2013:69). In this last case a tailor must obey customers’ demands. Tailors, “work by custom order and according to a client’s specifications” (Grabski, 2009: 225). And whether in an African context or a Western (diaspora) one, conversation is essential for developing a specific garment to fully correspond to the customer’s request, and here tailors’ work is normally targeted to popular consumption.

In Africa, the traditional dress has always been a changing practice remaking itself in interaction with other dress styles and with garments of Western commercial manufacture and the Western fashion system”¹⁶² (Hansen & Madisson, 2013: 4). These negotiations became an important point in changing traditions. And in this context, conversation is essential for developing a specific design that fulfils the

¹⁶¹ A fabric sold in four pieces and with high quality printing of fashionable patterns.

¹⁶² These authors question the way many scholars address this thematic around the interchangeability intrinsic to the fashion system in the West compared to the features of “tradition” driven sartorial as in much of the rest of the world, arguing that one should look and think of African “traditional” dress culture as much interchangeable as Western fashion culture is. Moreover so if these interchanging features of creativity have long been tuned with the dictations of the Western fashion market system itself and which economical and creative epicenter is still very much concentrated in Western Europe (mainly Paris, London and Milan). It is necessary hereupon whether to question the massive role of Western Fashion globalization in cultural homogenization or to open a new debate focusing on the emergent revival/ (re)invention of tradition in contemporary African dress.

customer's request. When negotiating new clothing the design is always a process based on collaborative creation between the tailor and the client (Co-design). Negotiation between the customer and the tailor takes place at every stage of the process of making a garment: when the client chooses the cloth, when the client chooses the design; when the tailor discusses aesthetics, referring to model and body, during fittings, until defining the final price of the clothing. A truly compromising relationship between tailor and customer is established from the moment she or he chooses the fabric and thereafter the design, to when the tailor discusses the aesthetical aspects of the chosen model and its suitability to his customer's body, to any necessary changes during fittings, until discussing and arranging the garment's final cost. This means that the design of a tailored piece is always a co-creation based process between the tailor and his customer, and that negotiation between both parties is expected to take place at every single stage of the production. So it is in this process of production and tailoring that I could highlight the main cultural concepts of capulana Co-design, Slow-fashion and Affectivity with capulana, here considered principles for a D4S approach, as chapter 4 will discuss.



Figure 3.10: Tailors working in groups at the Xipamanine market in Maputo. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, May 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

3.3.2. Locating the Fashion Designers in Maputo

Although there is still very little written (and specially theorized) about African Fashion in general, and even less about Mozambican fashion in particular, at once "discovered" in more recent times with the international exposure garnered during the 2010 World Cup, African fashion was brought up to the spotlight of world's attention¹⁶³. It is further undeniable that African fashion has had a more than positive turn in recent years, specially boosted by the trendiness of wax print (in capulanas, or else in kangas) that as referred on the footnote 119, has reached a higher plateau of recognition¹⁶⁴ and appreciation amongst designers and other stakeholders of the international fashion milieu. African fashion production done in nowadays Maputo's creative scene, supports my fieldwork conclusion that the (re)usage of capulana both as a textile raw-material and as a base for an array of

¹⁶³ In her book "New African Fashion" (2011), Helen Jennings explores the main reasons why African fashion is having "its moment" since 2010, and shows how designers are now looking beyond the same old clichés – often based on constructed Western fashion prejudices – around African aesthetic, by embracing both traditional and modern/contemporary fabrics and garments, alternatively working for producing new ethically and environmentally conscious clothing.

¹⁶⁴ Victoria L. Rovine, an author specialized in African Art with a focus on African textiles and dress practices, as well as on Africa's presence in Western visual culture, (particularly in early 20th century Europe) establishes in her recent book 'Africa Fashion, Global Styles' (2015)¹⁶⁴ that modernity [here regarding Fashion] is not just a Western phenomenon. She provides new insights into African designers, while demonstrating that dress styles associated with African cultures may have all the hallmarks of [Western] high fashion, thus highlighting the extreme potential of these [non-Western] cultures to compete Internationally and as existing models of inspiration for the Western fashion.

multiple other dress-forms (as analysed in previous chapters 2 and 3) is mirroring a positive connotation as a 'model of inspiration' for many local fashion designers, African and non-African¹⁶⁵. It reflects cultural awareness since it brings forth Mozambique's creative production from its strongest past heritage till present day fashionable sartorial. Indeed, current fashion and clothing [local] production in Maputo, show fashion designers making use of these cloths as a major (re)source of inspiration to (re)shape, develop and represent the genuine sense of fashionable style embodied in Mozambican identity¹⁶⁶.

In Maputo, as much as elsewhere in the world, designers work usually from their creative expression and often they conceive a garment for a specific target person or group, or they simply design from scratch while imagining a certain type of person. So, often enough their ultimate dream or goal is to work on their own exclusive designs fancying fabrics and accessories that normally only wealthier classes can afford.

In terms of creativity, "yet remaining distinctly local" (after Rovine, 2009: 134) some designers use international magazines as their main source of inspiration. Overall, to distinguish themselves from the Western fashion designers, emergent Mozambican designers' creations show that they still perceive, and thus preserve, *capulana*'s traditional attributes of nationhood and belongingness as their primary source of design¹⁶⁷. With such Mozambican cultural heritage-based signature, they strongly believe that by using *capulana* as a sign of national identity, they can make their own new designs to be yet more distinctively competitive at the international market level. However, they agree breaking with some part of their traditions as they introduce other non-African styling inspirations, they constantly revisit it, at the same time obtaining an up to date design approach within the surrounding global fashion maps.

As analysed in chapter 2, throughout the 20th and 21st centuries the manufacture, the ways of wearing/cutting and sewing *capulana* and the many designs of graphic representations printed, continue to be challenged by the whimsical influence of global and local political and social realities and discourses about regional identities, giving more or less importance to the traditional cloth and its respective production and marketing as needed. As remarked by Christopher Breward for Western designers – though the same can happen to African designers as well – "One of the most interesting aspects of couture and ready-to-wear design is the self-conscious manner in which the 'creative genius' draws on references from fashion history, isolating their original meaning and contexts in stylistic terms whilst also commenting on contemporary concerns" (1995: 232). If some fashion designers acquire fabrics' designs of superior quality, other designers prefer to create their own drawings/designs to be printed on *capulana*'s fabric and

¹⁶⁵ I found in Maputo fashion designers of non-African origin whose work *capulana* as the main source for their creativity.

¹⁶⁶ Following Claude Dubar (1994) identity is the combination of the way we want to be seen and the way we see ourselves. When analyzing this reflection from Dubar and transporting into the context of local Mozambican Fashion, the use of *capulana* certainly is associated with the proud of being Mozambican. The cloth works as a tool to show Mozambican identity both at the local runways and at international ones as well. See for example the designer Taibo Bacar at – <http://www.taibobacar.com> – who was the first African brand to showcase at Milan Fashion Week, and to present at the international level – in the most famous catwalks – the fashionable side of *capulana*. By making use of the East African traditional *cloth* in his collections, Taibo, like some other prominent Mozambican designers, enhances *capulana* to be seen as *the real Mozambican thing* and, likewise, whoever wears it can identify him/herself (and be identified) as the most Mozambican possible.

¹⁶⁷ During my fieldwork in Lisbon, I found only two fashion designers of Mozambican origins and both are using *capulana* to represent their affectivity with the cloth and to affirm their identity as Mozambicans.

they also try it in different supports like knits and silk instead¹⁶⁸. This also means that some of these designers, though still sharing the same cultural and aesthetic values common to their Mozambican identity, are actually leaning towards transcending what they call their “traditional national boundaries” by seeking access to the international (Western) Fashion world¹⁶⁹.

Most of them are articulating the traditional material in numerous models derived from the Western aesthetics to present a 'modern' capulana that fits the body in rather slimmer silhouettes (further reflection will be developed in chapter 7 – Capulanar). This in search for "new" meanings also combines imported fabrics (e.g. satins, polyesters, tulle, and cottons) with fabrics that connote African designs/aesthetics (like kanga, kitenge, batik, tie-and-dye, etc.). And through this melting-pot of fabrics, they blend clothing styles that are particular to Mozambique aesthetics yet meanwhile drawing on the vocabulary of International fashion. From the several interviews I've done to local fashion designers, I conclude that a Mozambican



Figure 3.11: Adelia e Sheila Tique, SS 2013's collection. Source: <https://www.fashionghana.com/site/adelia-e-sheila-tique-mozambique-fashion-week-2013-day-2/9223372036854775807/>

fashion product tends to be increasingly product driven, design focused, and potentially inspired by the Western (global) narratives around and about what is considered to be of Fashion, Fashioning and Fashionable. But, something that Mozambican fashion designers are aware of is that when transferring the ideal from Western fashion silhouettes they actually leverage new 'translations' meaningfully related to their past, land and people.

As one of the interviewed designers referred “a dress made by a Mozambican designer could never be the same as the same dress made by a Western designer”, and another interviewed Mozambican Designer reinforces “because my historically deep-rooted creations encode specific themes and issues that could only be embodied in my work that conveys past and present life-stories, belonging to my own memories and Identity”.

Although I may ask: Is this work with capulana showing the potenciality of the tradition? How could capulana as single attire and draped around the body, be interpreted in a more contemporary/conceptual form?

¹⁶⁸ In one of the interviews with a Mozambican stylist it was reported that many of the local fashion designers turn to a *capulana* merchant who sends their designs to India to print *capulanas* with exclusive signature. Being this man responsible for responding to the innovation of patterns made by local designers.

¹⁶⁹ This conclusion is supported by my fieldwork semi-structured interviews made between April and May 2011 which extracts can be found at the end of this thesis, Appendix “A”.

3.4. Second-Hand-Clothing (SHC): The Intrinsic Value behind a Used Garment

Along the way capulana has been appropriated, designed and transformed into new (modern) forms of fashionable style closely dialoguing with Western fashion influences, the intense demand for SHC has conquest yet another important place in the style conjunction of being modern. So I found crucial to explore more about this fashionable side of SHC and the intensive business so strongly developed in Maputo.



Figure 3.12: “Anders Pettersson Taibo Bacar Editorial for Elle Paris, Lisandra Francisco”. Source: Rossio Mag: <https://rossiomagazine.wordpress.com/2013/07/12/taibo-bacar-um-estilista-em-maputo/#jp-carousel-535>

This section presents exactly how SHC became a highly important item to visually, and socially, identify one's upbeat stylish look. This is shown on several images collected throughout the fieldwork and allowed a more situated analysis of the actual appropriation of such category of imported sartorial.

SHC of Western origin has a long history itself. It is not just related to the economic issue regarding the trading of goods for lower prices like commonly found online in websites as e-Bay and so on, but also involves other factors such as cultural appropriation and social preference. SHC has become one of the most significant items brought into developing countries, like Mozambique, from the



Figure 3.13: The stylist working on a dress with her tailor during a fashion workshop in Maputo. Records from our fieldwork, Lisbon, June 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

subject, I realise along with Palmer & Clark (2005: 4) that in fact, “second-hand clothing has become the raw material of new fashion.” Locally, SHC trade is called *Xi-calamidade* (as in ‘calamity’) ¹⁷⁰. Rather gradually, the traditional cloth has been replaced (as a single attire) by SHC, which has turned to be far more available for its affordable prices. Henceforward, SHC communicates a sense of being ‘modern’ and fashionable. Meaning, not only that the wearer became wealthier, and thus able to purchase ‘foreign’ clothing to express their outward appearance, but also that he/she has the freedom to brisk ‘authenticity’ (using original unique garments) while showing ‘self-made’ styles (e.g. the way exclusives, patterns, colours, shapes, etc. are mixed into one style) ¹⁷¹. Shopping for SHC is a common practice of consumption that actually started decades ago before the boom of global trade market hit East Africa. As one of our interviewees explained us: “During the 70’s younger women used European-style dress-wear when working in the urban centre at their Western-corporative jobs, and many times we resorted clothes at second hand markets. Only when returning home (in the outskirts of the city) some of us used to put a capulana around the waist.”

Now, it is important to look back in time to better understand how this SHC business has evolved throughout the past decades of the 20th and 21st centuries, and how it acquired such strong presence in the urban social landscape as verified on my field-study in Maputo.

By mid-20th century mass-produced ready-to-wear garments became affordably available to most European (and Western in general) consumers and, subsequently by means of external aid, the African continent became the right destination to donate Western “un-wanted” clothing. Author Luz Claudio (2007) refers in his article ‘Waste culture: Environmental Impact of the Clothing Industry’ that, “in her book *Waste and Want: A Social History of Trash* [1999], Susan Strasser, traces the ‘progressive obsolescence’ of clothing and other consumer goods from the 1920s on.” Particularly after the Second-World War W.W.2, states Hansen (2005: 103) “the production and consumption of many household goods, including clothing, grew by 10–15% even in the middle of the war and continues to expand to this day.” Adding that, for both local and global networks, the “West’s cast-off clothing has been reconstructed into a desirable commodity” (idem).

According to a study performed by the Council for Textile Recycling¹⁷², “since mid-1940’s U.S. charities and the post-consumer textile recycling industry have

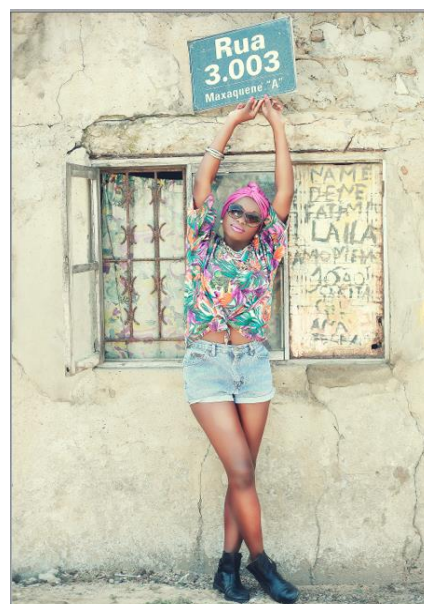


Figure 3.14: ‘Ntumbuluko wa mina/ My roots’, Maputo, 2014, courtesy of the photographer Marcelo Mauro.

¹⁷⁰ This term refers to a broader process of trading SHC usually cheaper than first hand clothing. The term *xi-calamidade* derives from the fact that, after independence in 1975, the major moments around commercial importation (or even entrance) of goods were associated with international aid actions in times of great calamities, arrived as donations to help out independence and civil war, and natural disasters victims. Elsewhere SHC is called differently. In Zambia for example, it is called after *Salaula* (which means to select from a pile in the manner of rummaging); and in Uganda *mivumba*.

¹⁷¹ In Western urban cultural milieus, SHC consumption might be otherwise associated with fashionable cults for any other vintage, retro, fashion, political and ethical attitude portrayed in one’s style, alternatively.

¹⁷² This study is available in: <http://www.weardonaterecycle.org>.

repurposed and recycled billions of pounds of clothing, household textiles, shoes, and accessories.” For Hansen (idem: 105) “The United States is the world’s largest exporter in terms of both volume and value, followed closely by other European countries, such as Germany and the United Kingdom.”

This fact is also referred by Brooks (2012: 2) when highlighting an analysis made by Rivoli¹⁷³ who writes that “United States became the largest exporter and dispatches over 500,000 tones of used clothes per annum [...] the second largest is the UK, which shipped over 319,998 tones.” Miller, on the other hand, refers that such intricate process of consumption relates “not merely to the purchase of objects but to the use, enjoyment and disposal of the capacities of those objects.” (1987: 190) through which many different social groups from the developed world countries have acquired a new praxis to get rid of used/extra clothing: they became a donor. So, part of the unwanted but still wearable Western clothing gains thereof a second life. “A portion of clothing purchases are recycled mainly in three ways: clothing may be resold by the primary consumer to other consumers at a lower price; it may be exported in bulk for sale in developing countries; or it may be chemically or mechanically recycled into raw material for the manufacture of other apparel and non-apparel products” (Claudio, 2007)¹⁷⁴.

Altogether, SHC business constitutes the answer for Africa’s demands on higher and innovative clothing, which gradually – in some countries¹⁷⁵ but only partially in others – replaced the traditional African dress-wear.

The downside is that SHC business may well undermine local industries because, as pointed by Frazer (2008: 1) used-clothing imports are “found to have a negative impact on apparel and textile production in Africa, explaining roughly 40% of the decline in African apparel production and roughly 50% of the decline in apparel employment.” As one of the interviewees told us: “Second-hand clothing and Chinese clothing came to provoke a death of employment in the textile and tailoring industries. My husband has no work because the local textile mill, where he used to work before, stopped the production of capulanas.”

¹⁷³ This analysis was based on the following book of the author Rivoli, P. (2009). *The travels of a T-shirt in the global economy: An economist examines the markets, power, and politics of world trade*. London: Wiley

¹⁷⁴ For further information check source: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1964887/>

¹⁷⁵ It is important to highlight that some African countries may restrict – from time to time- importation of second-hand clothing. As referred by the journalist Siegle “[...] Uganda for example, banned imported underwear and night wear in 2004 on hygiene grounds; South Africa maintains restrictions on all SHC imports; and in parts of Nigeria, traditional dress is still dominant aggressively wrestling out cast-off clothes.” (2011: 219).



Figure 3.15: 'Xipamanine', Nzualo Na'Khumalo. Maputo, 2014. Courtesy of photographer Marcelo Mauro

Yet, at another level, SHC that arrives in developing countries is at large “collected by charity organizations and transformed into business.” (says Hütz-Adams, 1997: 5). Likewise, clothing that first-world people donate for free is at the end of the day “sold for profit and not distributed for free.” (Brooks, 2012: 4). It is likely transformed into a business that encompasses specific steps as: “handling, cleaning, repairing, re-styling and distributing.” (Baden & Barber, 2005: 12). Then, at a certain point, SHC imports may be destructive for Mozambican local industries inflating local market production with its low pricing that annihilates any possibility of competition as, “the Mozambican case illustrates second-hand clothes sell at a third of the price of local clothes.” (Hütz-Adams, 1997: 5).

Used clothing exchanges have nonetheless brought new dynamics into a growing African garment market, triggering a powerful web of

communication processes and dialoguing expressively, while redefining the mapping of trade geographies between developed and developing countries at both global and local scales. Durham (2004: 1) adds that: “Selling them generates jobs, helps the micro and then the macro economy, and makes the best use of donated items. Charities have to operate efficiently, like businesses.” In another perspective, the sustainable side of this business is that “Recycling, reproduction and retail of used objects become important elements of transnational commercial activity that depends upon connections between different types of economic actors, who have more or less powerfully embedded roles in international networks.” (Brooks, 2012: 2).

Albeit an apparently negative impact on local garment industry, SHC business has turned to not only contribute to develop local economy and employment, but also worked as a social instrument for identity building. In the aftermath of the colonial presence, SHC became a status symbol in post-colonial Africa, “the symbol of urbanity, civilization and cosmopolitanism” (Ross, 2008; Foster, 1997). The imposed colonial behaviour went hand in hand with the armed liberation struggle that the country experienced since 1964 thru 1975. At the same time, the SHC trade for the developing countries – fuelled by charity organizations – became more accessible and, quite naturally, as it happened in the years following colonial liberation, “behind financial hardship second-hand items provided something new to wear.” (Palmer & Clark, 2005: 156).

By 1990's, following the rapid changes Mozambique's independence and civil war brought about, two antagonist phenomena happened: on one side, capulana became a national symbol (as the term is often related with the political and social movement of Mozambiqueness); and on the other side, the younger generation wanted to look more and more alike the actors from Brazilian and American movies, and so SHC became the most suitable option both for the price and the style.

Contextually, with the Independency war (waged from 1964 till 1974) and the

series of violent struggles (that included a civil war) undertaken until 1992 led to several economic restrictions as a result of the many political and economic new orientations of independent Mozambique. Facing shortage of many of the raw and secondary materials needed to produce clothing, Mozambican people had to resort to SHC betoken their own sense of style. Hence, during the early 90's the trade regime in SHC increased significantly. Used clothing became the 'perfect' solution for both the economic problem – lack of local clothing production – and the desire for the latest newest style in vogue. And, along international-based charity organizations started to occupy a strategic position transforming clothes' donations into profitable business¹⁷⁶.

Nowadays, with the increasing growth of this kind of commerce, shipping containers of used-clothing are being unloaded in the busy streets of Maputo, like the areas of Baixa and Alto Maé, where are concentrated most of the importers' warehouses (see figures 3.15 and 3.17). SHC arrive from many different locations such as Australia, Europe and North America as highlighted by Brooks (2012: 22) and also referred by some of the traders we interviewed on my fieldwork.

Along the streets of Maputo, although there are many men doing business in SHC, the strongest protagonists of this trade are the Mamãs grandes or Mamanas ('Big Mammams'). They are the privileged clients of the armazéns (warehouses) who purchase large numbers of bales (50-100)¹⁷⁷. These women are so important that they control a social pyramid of different economic players such as the small-scale traders – seen at the open-air markets that line up the streets, or at informal markets downtown Maputo – and the itinerant traders. SHC can be found not only in the streets or markets, but also at the tailors' shops where is often modified to fit the desired look and style of a new owner.

This intense relationship between charity organizations, Mamanas, small-scale vendors, itinerant traders and tailors around SHC adds a local and particular angle to this business, and nowadays xicalamidade attracts all social groups, but mainly those from middle and lower classes, as well as local youngster looking for vintage items that better suit their interest for a more cosmopolitan style attire.

3.4.1. SHC Market in Maputo: Informality and Organic Display

There is no formal organization of SHC trade in Mozambique and therefore



Figure 3.16: Used clothing warehouse 'Almada Limitada'. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, May 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

mosof it is solely based on informal network of commerce. At the markets, whereas some small-scale vendors may only sell one kind of item directly from the bales (see Figures 3.16 and 3.19). Other vendors, because they can afford more bales or mixed categories bales, may sell different kinds of items. Quite often the quality and condition of the used clothing cannot be checked out á priori: “only when the bale is opened, it is possible to know about the profitability of the cloths it

contains, it is like playing lottery”, complains one of the street sellers I

¹⁷⁶ For example the organization *Humana People to People* (<http://www.humana.org>) is represented in Maputo by ADPP Clothes Sales (<http://www.lindersvold.dk>).

¹⁷⁷ See Brooks, 2012: 27.

interviewed.



Figure 3.17: Itinerant vendor selling used belts. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, April 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

Buying a bale is either a question of luck or chance of having good connections. As confirmed by Brooks (2012: 11): “A trader can be lucky and get many items in good condition and of the right size (high use value) and that are locally perceived to be stylish (high symbolic value), or they may be unfortunate and open a bale to find items that are ripped or rotten, too large and unfashionable.” Or, as Hansen points out, sometimes it is necessary “to build good relations or to pay an extra tax to the warehouse employers.” (2009:

28) to obtain insider knowledge to guarantee a good bale for business¹⁷⁸.

The organic structure displayed at the sale location is also important. In each ‘street shop’ (locally named *mudzudzação*) SHC is separately organized into its different categories such as: t-shirts, blouses or trousers, on one side. And, on another side, accessories like shoes, belts and bags are displayed separately from clothes. At open-air markets like Xipamanine, there is a specific place for each category of clothes, for example there is an assigned location for men’s suits, bras, shirts, another place for men’s shoes, and so on.

Finally, there are the hawkers who sell only one category of clothes (see Figures 3.16 and 3.19) and can be found peddling the streets for random customers. In some cases clothes are carefully selected and organized according to a ‘fine eye’ for stylistic combinations, but in other cases clothes are just thrown together in chaotic bundles, dumped in piles on the ground which complicates the process of commodification” (says Hansen, 2005: 110).

Amongst the most desirable items are American or Australian used clothing, not only because of the common representation around foreign garments, but also because they come in bigger sizes. As a seller at Xikelene market explained to us: “Australian and American cloths fit better an African body.” However, sometimes to increase their sales volume, vendors purposely mix new clothing coming from China at lower prices with regular foreigner SHC, in attempt to ‘distract’ people who normally consider second-hand clothing to be of a better quality than any new cheaper garment made in China. SHC prices are variable, but often the harder it is to find a certain item, the pricier it becomes, like, for example “The bra is the most expensive clothing and then follows the man’s suit” explains a vendor at Janete’s market.



Figure 3.18: Drawings of bales on the wall, announcing a warehouse of used clothes. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, April 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

¹⁷⁸ The smaller SHC traders I interviewed in 2011 also referred this particular strategy.

Generally, there is some ambiguity around the actual benefits of SHC business. If some of the people we interviewed asserted, "it ruins local business". Others though argued that this trade "can create jobs, improve livelihoods and a future full of hope for so many people." SHC has yet another potentiality since ready-made garments are often used by tailors as a main source for patterning inspiration to draw and craft new pieces from, like in an improvised handbook for clothing construction, tailors use SHC pieces to learn how to refine finishing details: "we undo them to learn how to do it rightly" they say.

When we talked to several tailors, some of them explained to me that meanwhile they do not know how to construct a garment from scratch, repairing clothing becomes an easy source of income. But to others (specially the master-tailors) told us that: "to repair garments gives as much work as to make a new piece of clothing, and so SHC came to undermine my creativity. I produce less new clothing now, since I do mostly fixing on second-hand clothing", they confess.



Figure 3.19: Street sale of SHC directly from bales. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, April 2011 | Photography by Sofia Vilarinhc

3.4.2. The Fashion-able Face of Xi-calamity

During my field-study I observed that there are many examples of Western used clothing being adapted in lots of creative ways (see for example figures 3.13 and 3.14) and that, as pointed by Palmer & Clark (2005: 116) it is quite common to notice that these used clothes become the 'new garment'. And, because SHC comes in many different sizes, these clothes usually need several fixing jobs to fit better its new wearer, giving local tailors an important role. Both professionally and socially since thanks to their expertise they help redefining and developing a certain African style, while continuing the need for SHC imports and demand.



Figure 3.20: Second-hand belts for sale in the streets. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, April 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

Usually, tailors' workshops are located along the streets or at the municipal markets where it is common to find them sharing improvised selling spots with SHC retailers.

The younger generations of habitués have now established a close relationship with tailors. Since early ages caring about their appearance, they have made tailors alter, redefine, if not, put aside, most of the 'traditional' Mozambican attire, while working and re-styling *xicalamidade*, making the old costumes look apparently obsolete to be worn by the youngsters. This 'new generations' is all the youth who has come at age with the independence (in 1975) and especially from the end of the civil war (in 1992) onwards. Bond to the (new) more cosmopolitan trends, styles and looks brought from the West, particularly in the form of SHC, this fashionist youth bears very little similarity with the traditional Mozambican sartorial their parents would use in the past. Ultimately, freer to mix clothing from almost everywhere in the world with the traditional ones, they have developed a puzzling of cultures through their stylish appearance. SHC represents hereupon a piece of material cultural expression that allows the articulation of participative beliefs, dreams and meanings of personal narratives sartorially brought to life by those new African fashion goers. Always attentive for a pristine look, SHC wearers are constantly searching for those exclusive styles: "I want to dress nicely. When shopping from *xicalamidade* I can guarantee exclusivity. I'm sure I will not find a girl dressed like me", tell us a female teenager who was buying dresses at Janete's market (in Maputo, 2011).

Aware of how global SHC is changing local fashion consumption practices in Mozambique, and how these same social and cultural behaviours enable every time newer fashion(able) looks, in this sub-section I take a closer look at two different dress-styles (shown in Figures 3.21 and 3.22, respectively) worn by youngsters I encountered during my fieldwork in the streets of Maputo. The first example (in Fig. 3.20) shows three boys wearing school uniforms, an outfit timely standardized

after the country's independence (1975). As I could observe, although all the three boys are wearing the same uniform, each one uses it differently by adding his very own personal detail. Whereas the boy in the middle kept the somehow homogeneous look of his school uniform, the boy on the left refashioned the uniform in a hip-hop mood, cutting the trousers, taking the tie off, adding a red t-shirt under the uniform's white shirt, as well as the typical baseball cap, completing his style with a pair of customized sneaker-boots and red sunglasses, while the boy on the right just changed the length of his uniform's tie unbuttoning the shirt's top button to give it a more casual look.

The style worn by a young Mozambican girl in Fig. 3.21 is yet even more representative of a new trendy look that mixes tradition with modernity, and which originality is portrayed by the combination of a traditional *capulana* – wrapped in a quite trendy way around her neck and waist – with a pair of second-hand shorts and an oversized pair of tall used boots. This look is particularly relevant of a resurgent Dress Culture decoding influences between Western and African styles. This young girl created her own fashion statement by displaying her personal sense of modern style while reaffirming her bond to her Mozambican grassroots, sartorially.¹⁷⁹

Like in the globalizing fashion centres in Europe and North America, also in Maputo consumers' preference for vintage styles has apparently gained its momentum, as SHC market grows wider and stronger. On this matter, we could observe yet another feature surrounding the demand for used clothes. In SHC markets in Maputo, young Mozambicans also tend to search for any less common items which exclusive and vintage look would allow them to produce that particular 'original' style they aim for. This, says Hansen (2009: 115) justifies that the appeal of SHC "cannot be



Figure 3.21: Three students in school uniforms. Maputo, May 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

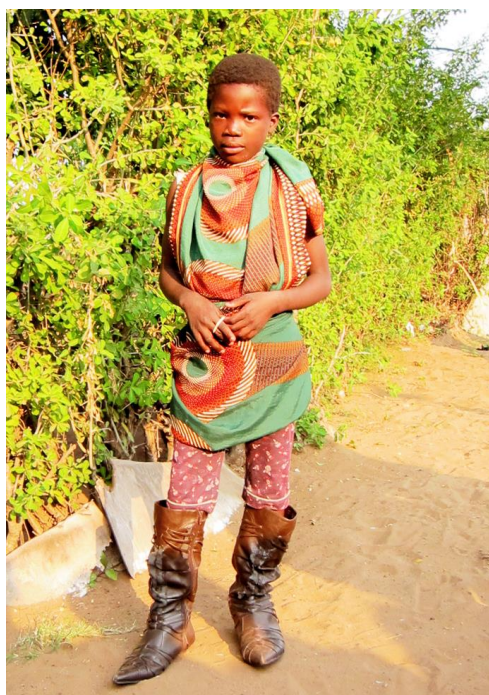


Figure 3.22: A girl from Maxaquene. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, May 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

¹⁷⁹ This observation was crucial for my workshop series *Capulanar* developed within the practical context of this thesis. With this girl I realized that young generations are actually looking for new forms of wrapping the traditional *capulana*, in an effort to better express their own experience to update their very own tradition.

explained merely in terms of its affordability to poor people, but above all by reference to the importance people attribute to dress and appearance.”

A good example of this reference, featuring new applications of SHC that (re)create (or renew) vintage fashionable pieces, is given by Maputo-based brand



Figure 3.23: Models ‘Floriado’ by Mima-te. Photo by Sarah Rubensdoerfer. Source: <https://www.facebook.com/mimatemaputo>

Mima-te¹⁸⁰ (which in Portuguese means both spoil yourself and take care of yourself) which design-work has emerged as the first upcycling approach to SHC in Mozambique. According to its founders, their work is basically to “...upcycle and re-new old vintage clothes found at local markets in Maputo, and turn them into fashionable, modern and unique clothes.” This brand’s success is growing so much that its owners have now regular sales at several places throughout the city. In sum, here again with Palmer & Clark (2005: 173) Mima-te brand is using SHC as their design-work main “material whereby consumers can play with the past to create modern identities.” (see Figures 3.22 and 3.23).

3.5. Fieldwork Conclusions

The fieldwork undertaken in Maputo was of the utmost importance for me to have a fuller understanding of the different ways new local Fashion(able) statements and dressing social and cultural practices are happening throughout Mozambique’s capital. In short, Maputo shows off a complex visual sartorial panorama, which harmonizes tradition (i.e. the capulana dressed in the ‘traditional’ way: various levels of capulana and a headscarf), the fragmentation of that ‘tradition’ (i.e. capulana mixed with other ready-to-wear clothes) – and a mix of clothing that comes from everywhere (including second-hand or new ready-to-wear clothing). This rich mixture gives identity to a local fashion that justifies the original visual landscape of African urban cities as “a site for blending or métissage ideas from near and far.” (Grabski, 2009:218).

Hereafter, analysing the relationship between consumers and clothing in their constant demand for stylish SHC (often combined with traditional capulana), I intended to consider how such material cultural behaviour could in fact be seen as a more sustainable attitude towards sartorial consumption. Always bearing in mind Lidewij Edelkoort’s perspective (in her work *Anti Fashion Manifesto*) where the Dutch trend forecaster daringly affirms that: “Fashion is dead. Long live clothing” (2015)¹⁸¹.

¹⁸⁰ For further information on this brand check their website:

<https://www.facebook.com/mimatemaputo>.

¹⁸¹ Check: <https://fashionunited.uk/news/fashion/li-edelkoort-fashion-is-dead-long-live-clothing/2015021715524>.

I have already found in the field new ‘formulas’ of dressing that mix an array of differentiating clothes and by which wearers might actually show personalized interpretations of fashion and style, and this not necessarily in tune with any current trend from the international fashion market. Often came across real cases where the practice of recycling, up-cycling or (re)thinking capulana clothing reflects a high sense of fashion-able conducts, whereby (and still along Edelkoort’s theory) users become the authors of their own style (like shown before in pictures 3.20 thru 3.21) thus potentiating identity processes. A general resistance to Western researchers somehow impeded the field research, not only because they abound, but also overall because people fear that their society is depicted in a demeaning manner. So, people neither wished to be observed nor filmed. But, After my observation in the field I came across another point of view



Figure 3.24: Mima-te member working with a tailor at Xipamanine’s market. Maputo 2011. Source: <https://www.facebook.com/mimatemaputo>

that has enriched my perspective about Mozambique’s modern sartorial practices: it is possible however to realize, quite conclusively, that the way broader Western Fashion system codes are constantly being (re)applied at local scale can be linked – as referred by Kawamura (2004) – to the very structural nature of Western garment and fashion market itself. The way it works to legitimize not only designers creativity, tailors’ working but also people’s consuming behaviors. In fact, it is quite common to find out in Maputo’s urban context that people know how to (re)present Western aesthetic standards and perceptions of Dress. This representation however is evident on the way African Dress Culture is overall very permeable to Western style fashion and clothing (whether new or used) and how strongly it potentiates the creation of new styles that often express, rather distinctively, an inter-action between the local and the global spheres. In short, with Moorman, “Clothing consciousness act of self-styling gives local forms of dress a new meaning.” (2004: 88). Still contrary to what one might think, the phenomenon behind Westernization (here focused on clothing) has actually induced the rebirth of Mozambican national pride by bringing forward the importance of keeping cultural traditions of sartorial alive, while redefining a new dress identity in contemporary Maputo.

This rebirth has turned capulana into both national symbol and sartorial instrument in both its traditional form (as the cloth) and its more modernized form (as a dress made of capulana, for example), when even combined with SHC. And so far, as an innovative branding strategy, most Mozambican fashion designers and tailors are enhancing local and traditional values through capulana. Yet, they are not limited to its pure elemental form, rather combining it with modern Western outfits, using non-traditional production techniques, new fabrics, patterns, styles, etc. And, if some of the Mozambican emergent designers still

perceive capulana as the symbol of Mozambiqueness as the primary source for their design-work to distinguish themselves from Western fashion designers, tailors on their turn use capulanas, and other African cloths in general to keep a tight proud connection to the preservation of their cultural knowledge and heritage. Giving the fact that tailors have a key role on everyday fashions, how can the role of these tailors be described?

But not many designers actually experiment using capulana just in its original uncut rectangular form draping it in a more contemporary way. Quite the opposite, they rather tend to make tailored fitted capulana clothing when responding to the general consumer's whim for something really more modern. But how can the traditional way of wearing capulana, as a rectangle of fabric, be updated?

It is this dialectic relationship between cutted and uncut capulana that will be discussed in the next chapter (4), highlighting the significance of the cloth in redefining Mozambican fashion in an International competition. Moreover, within a D4S approach it will be discussed the importance of bringing forward the cultural concepts around and in what way these can be a base for Fashion-able practices that result in sustainable design. Such findings are the base on which to develop later the two focus creative laboratories with African tailors and Young African Women in Lisbon (chapter 6 and 7).

Interviews

D. Rosa Mudende 2nd May, 2011.

Mamana was conducted on the Jannette's market, on 14th April, 2011.

Owner of Casa Elefante, was conducted at his commercial house on 15th April, 2011.

The interviewed Fashion designers were

Cigarra Perrin interview conducted on 16th May 2011 at the hotel I was hosted, Maputo.

Isis Mbaga interview conducted on 4th May 2011 at the hotel I was hosted, Maputo.

Angela Alfaluale interview conducted on 14th April in Maputo.

Lucinda Mucumbi interview conducted in her atelier in Maputo, 28th April, 2011.

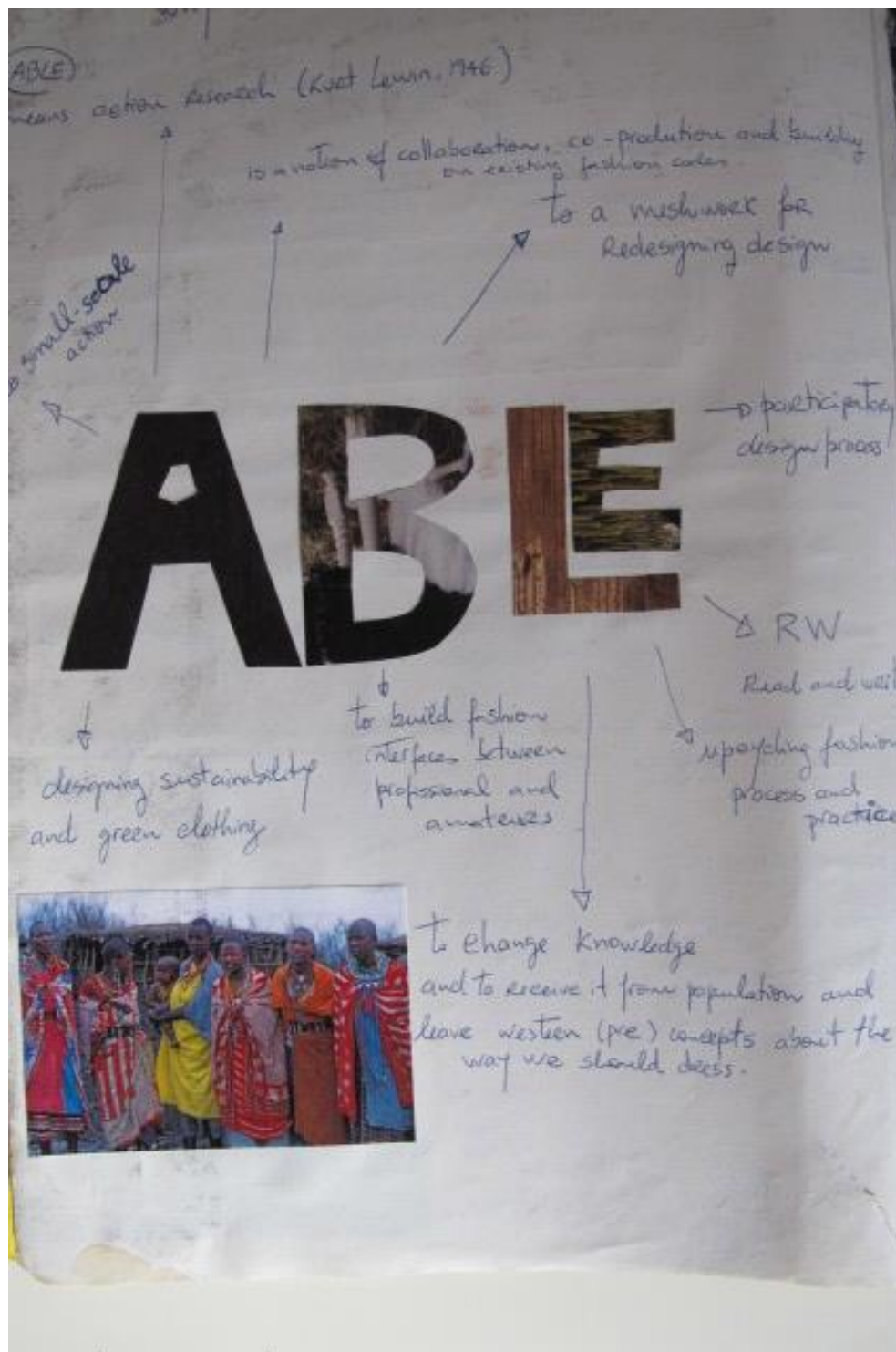


Figure 4.1: A page of my field-diary, May 2011, Maputo. Photograph by Sofia Vilarinho

Chapter 4 Observatory of the future: The Fashion(able) Capulana- Expressiveness of The Cloth as a Dress-Form.

While chapter 2 data is about the past history of capulana and chapter 3 the empirical data about the actual situation concerning this cloth, this chapter grounds the thesis, exposing the foundational ideas and propositions at the basis of practical work developed with the African community in Lisbon (chapter 6 and 7).

Here, the first section analyses about how capulana has been appropriated by Mozambican wearers, tailors and designers, for the last decades, making it into a fashionable dress, thereby searching for 'new' meanings about its intrinsic 'traditional dress' value. The second section presents my own appropriation of the term 'fashionable' in the version of 'fashion-able' as an holistic creative conceptual approach that looks at capulana traditional features from inside the Mozambican reality. It contemplates new model of (re)creating and producing contemporary dressing forms of capulana emphasise not only its core cultural concepts, meaning: Co-design, Affectivity and Slow-fashion, but also give a new light to the versatility of different draping techniques. Because fashion-able concept is also about sustainable fashion, the third section of this chapter opens with a brief analysis about sustainability justifying my own definition about D4S in order to support the practical co-design workshops that followed up the theoretical research (chapter 6 and 7).

4.1. Made in Mozambique : Labelling The 'Modern' Capulana Dress-form

For the last decade, an exciting and inspiring array of fashion talents have emerged from the African continent and diaspora context alike. As stated earlier in last chapter a dress made from a capulana is not only a fashionable dress but mainly a material-cultural embodiment of a process of (re)creation, development and change that includes in itself the puzzling of forms, colors, signs, designs, messages, history/stories, memory/memories, and so on. Furthermore, this new dress actually transcends a sense of locality, ethnicity, as well as (for the Mozambican case) the sense of Mozambiqueness. This newness however, is still difficult to decipher within the larger fashion picture, given the fact that the place of African creative production within the realm of International fashion is quite recent¹⁸² most of Mozambican fashion designers are still searching and striving for their place in the Global Fashion scene. Fashion designers, tailors and consumers themselves show that there is a prominent creativity emerging from daily design and self-styling practices. This acute sense of styling evident in everyday fashion (street-fashion, in a tailor shop or on the runway) should give young generations of users and makers a new path to try out diverse ways of bringing together the past and the future by claiming other practices of dressing capulana. As for example revisiting the original rectangular form of cloth and more.

In fact, this kind of creativity is all about the history, the struggles, and the civilization processes. As highlighted before (in chapter 2), Mozambican fashions were strongly marked by colonization and ethnical partitions. But as referred on the last chapter, the phenomenon behind Westernization (here focused on

¹⁸² See for example Helen Jennings 'New African Fashion' (2011) where the author explores and exposes the main reasons why African fashion is having 'its moment' since 2010.

clothing) has actually induced the rebirth of Mozambican national pride by bringing forward the importance of keeping cultural traditions of sartorial alive, while redefining a new dress identity in contemporary Maputo. What I don't understand is why Mozambican designers (considering here both locally and in the Diaspora context) seem to have abandoned the essence of wearing capulana in its original uncut form wrapped around the body? And instead the majority opts for exploring all possible tailored forms in their collections. This question draws an analogy to Japanese Fashion designers, whose work is mostly driven by the constant re- conceptualization of traditional forms of dress, which re-think, and at the same time update Niponic cultural heritage, in general, and the traditions of sartorial draping in particular. Following this idea, I believe that Mozambican fashion designers may truly rethink their traditions, when the very concept and notion of Modernity will be no longer based on Eurocentric ideology of Fashion here applied to the fitted and two-dimensional Western conventional clothing made with capulana. Meaning that is exactly upon a process of deconstruction of Westernization that one might be able to write, tell and analyse the history of sartorial itself. Rather using the first person - 'I' (a sense of the self) and therefore skipping a singular [Western] like narrative, these designers add a substantially rich discourse well grounded in their specific (Cultural) Knowledge. This in my point of view is the most influential element in the process of identity and of sustainable fashion solutions. Further developed in this chapter and illustrated by Fig. 4.5., it is this very notion of CK that this thesis proposes to be the fourth essential element of a D4S approach¹⁸³, complementing the other three existing dimensions: Social/Sociability, Economy and Environment.

My thesis defends that this kind of idiosyncratic knowledge founded in all the specificities of a particular culture – its inherited notions, codes, patterns passed on and on throughout the generations – could be the very grounding of local production of Mozambican fashion nowadays. Many times it is not just because one makes a dress out of a capulana that one is creating Mozambican fashion. It is rather because in its real essence the capulana dress – when (re) created by a Mozambican designer or an African tailor– distinguishes itself from all other pieces made of African cloths. It's the creative process involved in capulana uncut dress form because it embody the core cultural concepts of Slow-fashion, Affectivity and Co-design. It highlights, moreover cultural features intrinsic to identity, whether this relates to the individual or collective self. It remains to ask if whether fashion globalization leads to cultural homogenization of designing and dressing practices or not? And if it does, then the phenomenon deserves a whole new debate about the place for contemporary revival and reinvention of Traditional Dress. Next the appropriation of the term 'fashionable' in the version of 'fashion-able' is presented as an alternative creative conceptual approach that looks at traditional capulana from inside Mozambican reality. A new model of (re)creating, educating and producing contemporary dressing forms of capulana is herein proposed giving emphasis to the three fundamental concepts of Co-design, Affectivity and Slow-fashion.

4.2. The Quintessential Inspirational Fabric: The Ability of Capulana to be of Fashion

In the last paragraphs I looked at how Mozambican designers and tailors are (re)discovering capulana and hereupon (re)constructing their identity in times of

¹⁸³ On fig.4.5, I refer that I believe that Cultural Knowledge should be added to the *Tao* scheme as one more fourth dimension for D4S.

globalization. I've observed that they tend to design fashionable clothing that derives from the classic two-dimensional Western standard modelling. Withal this apparently is moving them away from foundation of African dress from Sotuheastern African regions: "the practice of draping a single uncut length of cloth around the body " (Jennings, 2011: 8). The reinvention of modern versions of 'traditional' ways of wearing capulana through designing and crafty creativity may have brought capulana away from its traditional forms, and the national cloth has been (re)translated henceforth into its many other possible fashionable tailored fitted shapes: skirts, suits, dresses, etc. Yet, apparently this creative response is just compromising answer to the younger generations who are questioning the use of capulana and most specially the traditional way it is still worn by their parents. The job of those involved in transforming the structural natural form of the cloth, is more challenging since the newly designed and tailored clothing forms are (de)constructively apart from capulana's genesis of the sartorial traditionally worn by the people of the East African coast. Originally, capulanas are loose shape garments made from colourful fabric rectangles draped, layered and wrap-around-the-body (see for example figures 2.8, 2.9, 2.12, 2.13), in such specific ways and order and types, they can identify which ethnical roots, geographical origin/provenance, social status or even a certain group affiliation its wearer belongs to. Like many other traditional piece of sartorial, capulana's greatest feature is to convey to embodiment and communication, verbally and non-verbally, visually and emotionally. Alas such strong meaningfulness is getting lost (or diluted) by fashion designing and tailoring practices that seems to adjust instead to Western trends cuts and styles. For some more modernized, for others less genuine. This problematics around the conciliation of the modern with the traditional in fashion, brought again the main question and the sub-questions of this research to my reflection in a D4S perspective, how can everyday fashion based on capulana's tradition, contribute to reinforce identity processes and support cultural sustainability in the Diaspora? , I have found meanwhile, in designer Von Busch' PhD research work (2008) the key-concept Fashion-able that has truly conveyed my thesis direction. It is precisely from Von Busch that I borrow the quote "I'm able to fashion". This means justifying a model of production and consumption that is layered by processes of creation where the users – or the participants in the design process, for this matter – are "engaged as co-authors of fashion, which will be capable of inventing ways of responding and reacting to fashion" (Von Busch, 2008: 33). In opposition to the meaning of fashionable, this "ability" involves a "new line of practice that takes fashion out of the context of what is more or less passive ready-to-wear consumption." (idem: 27). The user here is far more tuned into the act of 'doing' – as he/she is engaged in the process of becoming the co-creator of a certain piece of clothing – rather than with the fact of 'having', as in possessing a piece of clothing. Both co-participation and co-creation, and thus the engagement in the whole designing process, are taken as fundamental principles that drives me to the very core concept of 'Slow-fashion'. Additionally, in my point of view, a Fashion-able process is more likely to show how objects can become personalized (adding Identity) and lead to a transformation of the Self. A major key to this same ability is the extent to which methods of production and consumption can be more sustainable in their execution and feed into models of social equity. Upon my reflection on this subject drawn from my 2011 fieldwork in Maputo (2011) – see Fig. 4.1 – my source of inspiration (the young women in Fig. 3.21) and my awareness of the expressive trends emerging from the street, the term of 'able' must include a process that opens design participation of both the user and/or all other designers involved. It must imply small-scale production rather than mass production and, thus in this sense truly substantiating a Slow-fashion approach. It must involve

processes that give primacy to knowledge sharing, including the transference of CK when co-creators from different backgrounds and cultures co- develop the approach. Also, the research techniques implied in a Fashion-able approach support the creation of fashion products at three co-related stages: (1) conception and (2) co-design of products (involving the consumer) and (3) sustainable manufacture. This process of manufacture/production must contemplate the major role that education (more or less formal) plays in promoting self-sufficient design practices, which are here applied to small-scale production.

Finally, a Fashion-able process is also about sustainable fashion and developing a better future. For that reason I found it crucial to get a deeper insight to D4S and define my position about the way I use the concept of Fashion-able when proposing the two creative labs in Lisbon. Taking in consideration the important role that African tailors and young African women have in shaping new fashion with capulanas, I had no doubts in including them in my practical work. One of my intentions with the two workshops I will develop (chapter 6 and 7), with the African community in Lisbon is to discuss and try alternative approaches of (re)creating, educating and producing contemporary dressing forms of capulana, in a way that give emphasis to its core cultural concepts, meaning: Co-design, Affectivity and Slow-fashion. Because those concepts are the guide-lines for Western discourses about Sustainable Fashion, I consider important to a brief analysis about D4S in order to justify my own definition and position taken on the following practical work.

4.3. Why does this research take on a D4S perspective in fashion?

4.3.1 The unsustainable side of fashion

Whether in terms of raw materials we use or the products we make, fashion in general is all about (re)invention and innovation. As people moved away from making their own clothing, gradually ready-made clothing gained a vast field to grow. In fact, during the last two decades, fashion has flooded the consuming markets with clothing that have a very short product life cycle. “This just-in-time thinking is the legacy of the fast fashion industry and the Internet age...” (Cline, 2012: 213). Overall, prices tend to go down with the increment of large productions of ‘made in’ labels from developing countries like China, Bulgaria, India, Indonesia, Turkey, Cambodia, Morocco, to mention a few. In short, [fast] fashion industry¹⁸⁴ offers cheaper but trendy clothes that quickly can fatten our wardrobe, but as British journalist Lucie Siegle (2011: 3) refers: “this clothing is also charged by many negative aspects which amongst the worst concern to inhumane labor conditions, use of oil-based polluting fibers, production of waste and disposable clothing that originate secondary charity markets to many undeveloped countries, as African ones”. Yet a fact that opposed sustainable development because as Walker remarks “doesn’t promote greater social equity and improvement in the living conditions for those in need, especially in developing countries.” (2006:17).

On the other hand, the nature of disposable fashion has originated a type of consumer who is easily bored with the items she/he has and quickly ‘follows’ the spiral of consumption enticed by this industry, seasonally going from trendy to

¹⁸⁴ I mean global clothing production oriented to fashion’s seasonal tendencies.

(trendy) trash. I mean the SHC industry that is transformed into desirable items of fashion. Disposable clothing that is transformed into business of both Western and Non-Western economies. “This cultivates a passive consumer who happily consumes at alarming rates, most of which heads straight to landfill,” says Jessica Robertson (2012)¹⁸⁵. As Cline stresses, this overconsumption is becoming unsustainable and “the problems created by the industry in the West are quickly being matched and multiplied in other parts of the world¹⁸⁶. Buying too much clothing, and treating it as if it is disposable, is adding a huge weight on the environment and is simply unsustainable.” (2012: 3). The fact is that the textile industry is one of the most pollutants releasing industries of the world. “Surveys show that nearly five percent of all landfill space is consumed by textile waste. Besides, 20 percent of all fresh water pollution is made by textile treatment and dyeing.”¹⁸⁷

Fashion and textile industry have a serious impact on the environment, but recently many efforts are being made towards a more sustainable fashion industry, concerning resources, organic materials, labor conditions, fair trade, and this is a current discussion that has been accelerating for some years now within civil society at a global scale and it regards Agenda 21 for Sustainable Development of 1992.

4.3.2 Sustainable Development

Environmental sustainability¹⁸⁸ offers the biggest critique fashion industry has ever had. It challenges fashion in detail at root level, such as in fiber and process, and at a meta-level in economic models, goals and values, as well as in belief systems. Intended to raise general awareness on these matters, already in 90's, the 'Agenda 21'¹⁸⁹ discussed new approaches to Sustainable Development as follows:

- I. Development should be centered on human beings. Because an individual's well being is multifaceted, a multidimensional approach to development is essential. Therefore, any formulation of strategies, policies, and national, regional and international actions has to be based on an integrated and

¹⁸⁵ In the article: 'What is 'Slow Fashion' and Why Does It Matter?' (2012) by Jessica Robertson.

Available on-line: <http://www.ecouterre.com/what-is-slow-fashion-and-why-does-it-matter/>

¹⁸⁶ About the problematic around SHC see previous chapter 3 (section 3.4).

¹⁸⁷Source: <http://www.fibre2fashion.com/industry-article/41/4052/various-pollutants-released1.asp>

¹⁸⁸ According to the source taken from the website <http://www.unep.org> starting in the 60's environmental ideas already highlighted the concern about air and water pollution, consumption practices, waste generated by industry, recycling and ways of production. In 1987 the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in its report *Our Common Future* already insisted that development must be sustainable to guarantee population and human resources, food, security preservation of species and ecosystems, ensure energy efficiency for Sustainable Industrial Development and for balancing the Life of our planet. Again, in 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment & Development (aka 'Earth Summit') held in Brazil issued a declaration that builds upon the basic ideas concerning the attitudes of individuals and nations towards the environment and development, earlier identified at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (1972). 'Together we can – in a global partnership for sustainable development' was the slogan of the Agenda 21: 'a wide-ranging blueprint for action to achieve sustainable development worldwide' (UN, 1997), “which reflects a global consensus and political commitment at the highest level on the development and environmental cooperation. This declaration includes precise aims and very specific directives on the social (people), economic (profit) and environment (planet) spheres.”

¹⁸⁹ Agenda 21, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, is a non-binding implemented action plan of the United Nations with regard to sustainability. More information at: <http://www.unep.org/documents.multilingual/default.asp?documentid=52>.

comprehensive approach.

2. Central goals of development include the eradication of poverty, the fulfilment of the basic needs of all people and the protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, the right to development among them. Development requires that governments apply active social and environmental policies, and the promotion and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedom on the basis of democratic and widely participatory institutions. Goals of economic growth and social progress in larger freedom must therefore be pursued simultaneously and in an integrated manner.
3. Investments in health, education and training are critical to the development of human resources. Social development is best pursued if governments actively promote empowerment and participation in a democratic and pluralistic system.
4. The improvement of the status of women, including their empowerment, is central to all efforts to achieve sustainable development in its economic, social and environmental dimensions.
5. An open and equitable framework for trade, investment and technology transfer, as well as enhanced cooperation in the management of a globalized world economy and in the formulation and implementation of macroeconomic policies, are critical for the promotion of sustained economic growth. While the private sector is the primary motor for economic development, the importance of an active role for governments in the formulation of social and environmental policies should not be underestimated.
6. An acceleration of the rate of economic growth is essential for expanding the resource base for development and hence for economic, technical and social transformation. Economic growth generates the required financial, physical, human and technological resources and creates a basis for sustained global economic growth and sustainable development as well as for international economic cooperation. It is also essential to the eradication of poverty. Respect for all human rights. Processes to promote increased and equal economic opportunities, to avoid exclusion and overcome socially divisive disparities while respecting diversity are also a necessary part of an enabling environment for social development.¹⁹⁰

Because of this problematic and the urgency to find effective solutions for several issues related with unsustainable ways of life, in September 25-27, 2015 more than 150 world countries attended the UN Sustainable Development Summit in New York to formally adopt an ambitious new set of Sustainable Development Goals. The new Agenda calls on countries to begin efforts to achieve 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) over the next 15 years¹⁹¹.

4.3.3 Sustainability vs Fashion

Curiously, “Sustainability and fashion are two seemingly contradictory concepts as fashion is all about change and sustainability is all about preservation” say J. Hethorn and C. Ulasewicz (2008) in the introduction of their book *Sustainable fashion - why now?* : a conversation about issues, practices, and possibilities. However, the issue of sustainability and sustainable development in fashion has been recently discussed and appeals essentially to a more ethical production, which accrued value is mainly obtained from the use of specific environmental friendly raw material, and it goes after the motto ‘to do justice’ respecting

¹⁹⁰ Source: <http://www.un.org>

¹⁹¹ More information at: <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>

practitioners by giving them safe and worthy labor conditions.

To catalyse action for a more sustainable future has become a considerable factor for many fashion brands, whether they are big retail brands (as Zara, H&M, etc) or smaller production ones, usually labels from emergent fashion designers or ethical initiatives. Not too long ago big retailers have started to consider opting for ethical choices concerning not only production systems, but also workers labor conditions and developing for example the use of ecological fibers (like cotton) as a way to promote a more eco-conscious fashion/brand. Thus, sustainability in Design and Fashion, should not only be focused on ecological matters regarding consumption, production and waste, but also contemplate a more holistic approach that includes social, economic and cultural solutions to create a collective better future. Next paragraphs will discuss different approaches concerning Sustainability in Design.

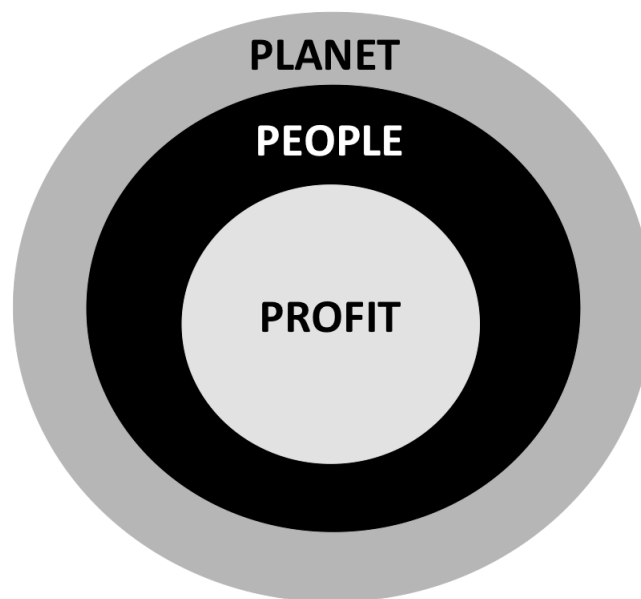


Figure 4.2: The triple Bottom line framework proposed by designer John Elkington (1994).

D4S Beyond the “Green”

In 2006, the publication ‘Design for Sustainability: a practical approach for developing economies’¹⁹² explains that “a broad definition of D4S would be that industries take environmental and social concerns as a key element in their long-term product innovation strategy.” (2006: 16). The authors Crul and Diehl also underline that “D4S goes beyond how to make a ‘green’ product – the concept now embraces how to better meet consumer needs – social, economic and environmental – on a systematic level (Fig. 4.3). These 3 key elements of sustainability are also referred to people, planet and profit” (2006: 21). Designer John Elkington (1994) defends this position (see Fig. 4.2), but it is Ehrenfeld (2008) who add yet more reflection to this definition equally considering the Ethical, the Natural and the Human as the grounding principles that encircle the Tao of D4S

¹⁹² This book is a co-creation made by the Design for Sustainability (DfS) Program of the Delft University of Technology for UNEP’s Production and Consumption Unit of the Division of Technology, Industry and Economics. See references at the end of this chapter.

(see Fig. 4.4). For this author the substance is as holistic as the approach: “Sustainability is an existential problem, not an environmental and social one [believing that] we cannot and will not begin to take care of the world until we become whole ourselves” (2008: 60) – restoring the human dimension. Both philosophical and pragmatic, Ehrenfeld’s approach enhances the importance of individual attitude and behaviour towards one’s self and onto others, onto one’s needs and many other’s. The author states that there are three strong pillars grounding Sustainability. The first one belongs to the domain of Ethics up to the full extension of ‘care: taking care of others’; the second regards the realm of Nature and calls for ‘new forms of production and strong constraints over the consumptive patterns’ and the third one addresses the ‘Human dimension of flourishing.’ (2008: 59-60).



FIGURE 2 — PEOPLE, PROFIT, PLANET AND PRODUCT.

Figure 4.3: D4S- design for Sustainability (Crul and Diehl, 2006:21).

between “designer and maker, maker and garment, garment and user.” (idem: 173), hence this triad establishing a profitable kind of affective bounds essential to a sustainable production and consumption. Fletcher also reinforces Ehrenfeld’s second (Natural) pillar of the Tao (of Sustainability) by drawing attention to the speed in the way fashion is consumed.

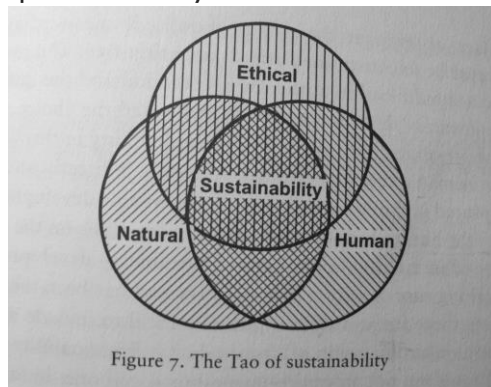


Figure 4.4: The Tao of Sustainability’ or the 3 pillars of Design for Sustainability by Ehrenfeld, 2008.

the mission of the Being (after Froom, 1976 and Ehrenfeld, 2008), since it fosters the solidification of Identity and cultural values, intrinsically (Fletcher, 2008; Fuad-Luke, 2009). Co-design allows, moreover, the type of participatory and co-operative production, which sustainably, after Fuad-Luke, “offers an opportunity for multi-stakeholders and actors to collectively define the context and problem and, in doing so, to improve the chances of a design outcome being effective” (idem: 147). Finally, this Co-design approach relies on the collaboration between

In 2008, Kate Fletcher takes on Ehrenfeld’s diagrammatical idea of ‘The Tao of Sustainability’ scheme (shown in Fig.4.4), yet she extends the meaning of ‘caring’ onto objects too. Fletcher argues that: “Appropriateness reflects the degree of ‘fit’ that an object has with place, function, user, maker and environment.” (2008: 166). For Fletcher to care – affectivity – (Ehrenfeld’s first aspect - ethical) is the key action, and attitude to develop successful relationships

Here, she emphasizes the relevance of rhythms of production and consumption, warning that: “Slowness provides stability and can promote holistic thinking and causal chains of responsibility” (idem: 162), thereupon focusing on the balance of the actual speeding rates between production and consumption at the center of the definition of Slow-fashion. Strengthening the third human dimension, the action of Co-design (or designing together / design with) is used as an essential resource to reinforce both the role and the

creative practitioners using it as a methodological strategy that results in a greater positive impact on individuals and society alike, since proven to be far more important for all design, creativity and innovation to co-exist sustainably.

4.3.4 My Perspective on D4S

Defending a D4S perspective that frames an innovative design based on capulana tradition my thesis follows authors Crul and Diehl's (2006), and Ehrenfeld's (2008) approaches because these authors take environmental and human concerns as a key element to develop new paradigms and new mindsets in their long-term product innovation strategy. Yet I believe that Cultural knowledge (CK) should be added to the Tao scheme as one more fourth dimension thus corroborating my idea of innovative applications based on capulana's tradition (Fig.4.5). CK is for me the quintessential key element needed to develop products, in this particular case, (re)using capulanas as the inspirational raw material and the knowledge about them as frames for a co-creative educational actions happening in Lisbon between 2011 and 2012. This meant recurring to a rich pool of culturally encoded values and patterns richly deep-rooted in the co-creator's background, and environmental circumstances, fundamental to develop (together) sustainable solutions that include all that inherited, or else accrued, knowledge. CK becomes substantially important because it is:

- a tool to think about design strategies for product development, in general, and,
- a resource to integrate cultural awareness into the design process, in particular.

Precisely because my research also looks after the formulation of Fashion-able challenges for the creative (re)usage of the capulana fabric, I could not but include such resourceful dimension that CK constitutes. In both my theoretical approach and the practical workshops EPAT and Capulanar developed in Lisbon with a group of AIT and another of YAW we explored, in a co-operative way, new design practices and possibilities upon each trainee's intellectual, affective, artistic, technical and cultural background. At the end, this co-learning action was rendered by the co-productive results of each working group.

Ultimately, in my specific research-project I suggest that for a more effective Co-design process it is important to use a culturally solid know-how about capulana's tradition, meanwhile challenging each individual and his/her respective working group as a whole to re-think, together, the potential fashion-ability of capulana. A joint-effort challenge that aimed to justify the true possibility (defended in my thesis) of 'upgrading' the status of the traditional East African cloth multiple Dress forms to contemporary fashionable (African/Mozambican) sartorial, and if within a D4S conceptual perspective, this upgrading recognition might help to consolidate identity building and cultural awareness. Further developed in chapter 6 and 7 this D4S approach takes on two creative and pedagogical practical applications, which summarizing, uses creative collaboration as a methodological strategy and CK as a tool to Co-design fashion-able products that embody Affectivity and, for that matter, are driven toward Slow-fashion. Hence, looking forward to achieve the kind of positive impact where fashion, design, creativity, innovation and sustainability can co-exist.

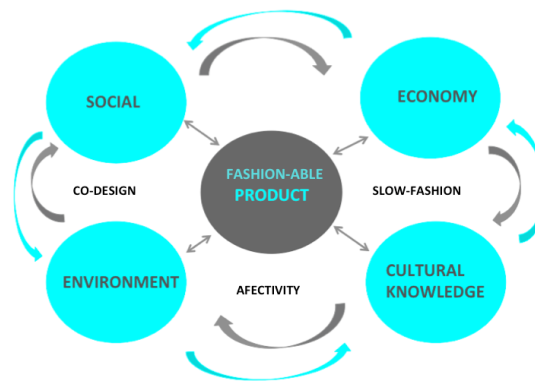


Figure 4.5: Diagram of the D4S definition taken on this research showing the four complementing core dimensions essential for the sustainable resilience of a (Fashion-able) product.

4.4. Uncovering Three Core Cultural Concepts behind Capulana: Slow-fashion, Affectivity and Co-design

Following the frame of thought presented before in section 4.2, I intend to demonstrate how capulana cloth – always associated with its original traditional cultural features – may have all the hallmarks normally related to [Western] high fashion, though at the same time, here identified within a co-creative production system bond to Sustainable fashion-able practices (chapters 6 and 7) that include the cultural concepts of Slow-fashion, Co-design and Affectivity. This section starts by explaining some main Western codes about Fast-Fashion to understand Slow-fashion, in order to better contextualize in which way capulana tradition may be linked to contemporary narratives about Sustainable Fashion that also include Affectivity and Co-design.

4.4.1 A broader analysis about Fast Fashion vs. Slow Fashion

To understand Slow-fashion it is necessary need to make a reflection about Fast-fashion. When talking about Western Fashion system we must adress what is commonly known as 'Fast-Fashion', in the sense that this system involves a high speed and high volume production, consumption, and disposal of industrially fast made clothing. Likewise, Michelle Lee (2003) – a New York Based fashion journalist – argues in her article 'One size fits all in McFashion' that "Fashion has begun to resemble fast food: fast, disposable, easy, unintimidating, entertaining and homogenous. Just as McDonald's has taken over the globe, dishing out the uniformity and consistency of their burgers and fries, mass-market clothing retailers have succeeded in spreading a similar message: predictability in fashion. To her opinion, nearly every major retail chain today represents McFashion. Like fast food, McFashion relies on 'speed chic'"¹⁹³. Apparently, this is a system of production and consumption where labels 'Made in' the Global South¹⁹⁴ gained prominence. Also known is that Fast-fashion garments are normally produced

¹⁹³ Michelle Lee in her article 'One size fits all in McFashion', in The Guardian, May 4th, 2003. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2003/may/04/fashion.shopping>

¹⁹⁴ The author Elizabeth Cline highlights that "...among cheap threads are also 'made in' labels from Bulgaria, Cambodia, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Turkey, Vietnam, Lesotho, and Macau (...)" (2013: 164)

predominantly by low paid, female workers and children thus leading to the unsustainability of Fashion industry (referred to in section 4.1). Criticizing the roughness of this reality loophole, in an interview done in February 2015¹⁹⁵, Andrew Brooks argues that the “quick turnaround times often places overwhelming demands on these factory workers, one effect of which can be the manufacture of lower quality clothing. This can encourage the rapid consumption and disposal of cheap clothes after they have been worn only a few times, creating a very unsustainable sector.”

In her book ‘Fashion Victim: Our Love-Hate Relationship with Dressing’ Michelle Lee¹⁹⁶ (2003) calls our attention for the controversial relationship that we (Western-based people) establish with the clothing we buy. Trends¹⁹⁷ associated with marketing strategies often originate an over-consumption, where nothing is made to last and the obsolescence of products ensures the economic structures of their own financial survival. So much that, as Kawamura asserts, “The mere demonstration of purchasing power is the simple devise of fashion.” (2005: 97). It is a fact that with mass production and consumption, the industry of Fashion was democratized. So, a new behavior of consumers emerged that desired the newness, “fast, disposable, easy, unthreatening, entertaining, and largely homogeneous.” (Lee, 2003: 63). Fashion(s) became the perfect answer to this love-hate conflicting relationship for the novelty. It is so much a fleeting affection and replaceable that we often face the frustration “I have nothing to wear.” It was from this sentiment of emptiness and insatiability that Pia Mouwitz¹⁹⁸ made an iconic photograph¹⁹⁹ with a picture of all her clothes to see for herself and try to understand the value of each garment and what was the actual meaning they had to her.

This recurrent feeling of emptiness associated with the over-consumption of new clothing has repercussion in all markets. The scenario of Fast-fashion also affects those in developing countries. Concerning my field of study, with the increasing purchase of used clothes (SHC) arriving daily in containers to Maputo²⁰⁰, capulana production and traditional African clothing is also highly threatened because significant amounts of low-cost, low-quality ‘copycat’ designs from China are literally flooding the East African market. Overall, capulana industry is being pushed down by this fast-Fashion global process with a significant decrease of its prime quality, not only of its printings, but also compromising the quality of the raw textile material itself by mixing pure cotton blends (in which capulana was originally made) with synthetic fibers, as referred to in chapter 3.

New discourses about the environmental negative impact of Fast-Fashion are recently urging for a shift of paradigm to achieve a more sustainable world, moreover defending that we should reduce the rate of consumption of new clothes and choose more durable and higher quality ones. This is exactly where Slow-fashion gains its significance. This concept emerges as an eco-friendly movement that is gaining more voice. However it will not replace fast-fashion industry. Usually slow-fashion brands choose to produce in real time, according to the methodology ‘just in time’ to produce only what has been sold by previous

¹⁹⁵ In ‘The Ethics of Fashion’ (February 2015) by Andrew Brooks. Available at: <http://www.rgs.org/OurWork/Schools/School+Members+Area/Ask+the+experts/The+Ethics+of+Fast+Fashion.htm>

¹⁹⁶ Lee, M. (2003). *Fashion Victim: Our Love-Hate Relationship with Dressing, Shopping, and the Cost of Style*. U.S.A.: Broadway

¹⁹⁷ Trends are quickly born in Couture and extended to the mass-consumption market of ready-to-wear through manufacturing, advertising and merchandizing innovation, constantly.

¹⁹⁸ The video of this exhibition is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dsr-zk5KUX8>

¹⁹⁹ Image available on this link: <http://www.kronastjarna.com/blog/2015/2/1/nothing-to-wear-pia-mouwitz>

²⁰⁰ See chapter 3, section 3.4 of this thesis for further developments on this topic.

order or that is expected to sell shortly, in this way reducing the cost of storage, handling, loading and unloading of stock. It is socially responsible because it makes use of local materials, suppliers and producers while including traditional skills and knowledge from artisans or specific communities of craftsmen. Many times small businesses and brands producing unique garments or limited editions of clothing drive their own business of Slow-fashion. As Cline stresses, “often the emphasis is on creating pieces that aren’t trend driven and are instead unique enough not to really date.” (2012: 209). Produced in a far smaller scale, Slow-fashion consumption enables the consumer with an effective self-expression, because most slow-fashion garments are done by emergent designers or even homemade after DIY (do-it-yourself) basic step-by-step instructions. This self-made production alone gives wearers a sense of affectivity and cherishing for the clothing that they bought or even helped making. The consumers of Slow-fashion garments normally look for the kind of authenticity (here meaning that the wearer has a unique piece of clothing) that enables them to be distinguished amongst the ‘crowd’, exactly because they belong to a whole new wave of consumption, a new class of ethically and environmentally conscious consumers who prefer to have less pieces in their wardrobe but exclusive eco and socially friendly ones.

4.4.2 Capulana: from Slow-fashion to Affection(s)

In spite of all the menace to capulana’s authenticity with its large scale production being made in China and all its major consequences (as discussed in the preceding paragraphs) the traditional East African cloth preserves its essence as a ‘rectangle of fabric’ meant for various purposes that can be used, according to Hanby (1984)²⁰¹ in 101 ways just like it happens with Kangas. This material cultural resilience is due to the emotional character specially embedded in each capulana. Affection bounds that confer to it its uniqueness and its ability to be perpetuated for life, passing on from one generation to the following one who inherits it in a chest of capulanas. Permanent, the value of capulana does not change. It creates and re-creates bonds, links and ties. To tie a cloth around one's body gives a much greater feeling of solace, comfort and protection, than wearing a simple pair of pants or a shirt. It is like the bodily experience of dressing something gains a higher level of meaningfulness attached to the whole symbolic charge of the cloth.



Figure 4.6: Two young women embraced in a capulana. Maxaquene, Maputo 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

²⁰¹ Hanby, J. & Gygtott (1984) *Kangas: 101 uses*. Nairobi: Lino Typesetters

Besides that capulana is 'par excellence' always a rectangular piece of cloth and, likewise the motto one size fits all, it can be used in a lot of different ways, adjustable to various body sizes, social circumstances, status and even genders. For all this reasons it is a prime example of a Slow-fashion item. As remarked by Kate Fletcher, it is essential to reduce clothing consumption, and to that effect it might be necessary to adopt "design strategies such as versatility and reparability to keep a product relevant; [and] the promotion of emotional bounds with a product which encourage its ongoing use." (2008: 166). Although it can be used by both genders, the development of capulana's history is intimately mostly associated with Mozambican women (Arnfred and Meneses, 2014). The Slow-fashion attribute of capulana is also linked to the fact that this cloth is socially significant on the sphere of emotions, likewise in "the promotion of emotional bounds" as Fletcher states (above). In Eastern Africa, capulana [as also Kanga] has become an instrument of mediation that amplifies 'social interaction' (Beck, 2001: 157), while allowing its user to form and establish specific relationships within the community. Similarly to what Yahya-Othman (1997: 137) suggests about kangas, "are often exchanged as gifts among women", who can also dress them with matching capulanas as a symbolic demonstration of the social and emotional bound that exists between them.

Summing up, this meaningful communication perpetuates the relationship between capulana and its users reinforcing its position within the conceptual framing of a 'sustainable affectivity'. As asserted by Borjesson (2006: 107 and 192), a designation generated from the Affective competence (and its continuous adaptations) developed by the user towards the object, so that the latter becomes ultimately timeless. Moreover so, since this affection is also strongly rendered by the many memories associated to each and every capulana, as to the enormous accrued value of being inherited as a precious good amongst generations to generations throughout times. And thus undoubtedly worthy of a much bigger affective value, it is exactly this affective accrued value, along the immense cultural knowledge attached to it, that confers to capulana its greater connection to Sustainability, via co-designing processes and small scale productions of Slow-fashion.

4.4.3. Designing With the Other: The Relationship Between Capulana and Co-design

Fuad-Luke (2009: 147) defines Co-design (or designing with others) as a catch-all term that comprehends Participatory Design²⁰², Metadesign²⁰³ and Social Design²⁰⁴ among other approaches to the discipline and practice of Design that encourage a participative action in the conception of a given design product. I observed that actually capulana designs still being developed with the contribution of the population. Cloths' manufacturers and retailers strategically turned (and keep on turning) to the population in order to get information on the most popular patterns, and the ones onto which people seem to perpetuate a nostalgic

²⁰² The term 'Participatory Design' was actually born in Scandinavia and called *cooperative design*. Fuad-Luke (2009:15) takes after Sanders (2002) that "PD is not simply about the application of methodologies to achieve a design result, it is about 'a mindset and attitude about people' and a belief that everyone has something to offer the design process".

²⁰³ Fuad-Luke (2009:151) takes after Fisher "Meta-design characterizes objective techniques and processes for creating new media and environments that allow the owners of problems to act as designers."

²⁰⁴ This term relates to "a social model of design and a design process intended to contribute to improving human well-being and livelihood." (Fuad-Luke, 2009: 152).

preference are likely to be produced more often. When confronted with my suggestion of an eventual presence of a process of Co-design in the making of capulanas' patterns, the owner of the former TextÁfrica remarked that:

"The patterns were adapted to each one's taste. Each region of Mozambique has its own taste for patterns and colours. For instance, in Chimoio there is a preference for the colour Bordeaux [burgundy], while in Nampula it's yellow. In the north of Zambeze, Muslims don't use clothing with printings of people's faces; as a result, capulanas linked to propaganda were unsold."

Another information provided by the retailers during my fieldwork interviews made in Maputo reveals that the designs were tried in the market, and sometimes only one out of ten succeeded and became popular. Additionally, in an article entitled 'Capulanas: commercial recovery of a cultural phenomenon', Mozambican magazine *Tempo* presents an interview with Adelino Maia (head of the Texlom's Design Department at that time) in which he states that "in some cases, the ideas for the creation of capulanas came up from individuals who were not involved in the manufacturing procedure." In the same article (referred before in chapter 2) a manager of the Kanji warehouses who was also interviewed comments that the models of the designs sent abroad were performed following a collaboration between Ms. Cacilda²⁰⁵ and the mapwseles (local women), who "choose the colours." (Tembe and Cardoso, 1978b: 22). All in all, these design methods applied in the conception of capulanas were, as noted before, generated from Co-design processes. And following Fuad-Luke's ideas about Co-design, the process of developing (producing) new designs for capulana's fashions involved 'top-down and bottom-up' approaches, stimulating the real world to require mutual learning practices between the stakeholders. It is this line of thought that Ressler stresses when studying the cloths homologous to capulanas – the kanga: "while the kanga is commonly seen as having a narrow cultural identity, on more careful examination it represents a clear example of co-production in which elements of the design and use are drawn from a global exchange of ideas and trade over centuries." In this sense co-design and co-production stand for the same type of creative/economic activities and are underline by the same kind of concepts such as developing and designing together an object using specific CK of each evolved region. In the specific case of the cloths for East African regions several countries participate in their design and these cloths are as Ressler highlights "a rich collage of influences from cultures around the Indian Ocean, Africa, and Europe."

4.5. Essential reflections to move forward

From my findings, a further analytical and empirical study of the everyday Fashion in Maputo and the new styling forms of wearing capulana (like the example shown before in Fig. 3.21) as well as by questioning why Mozambican designers tend to make tailored-fitted capulana clothing when responding to the general consumer's will for something really more modern (as discussed on chapter 3), I came up with some of the fundamental questions that guided the follow-up practical workshop Capulanar (later developed in Lisbon and presented in chapter 7 – case study 2). At yet another level, my fieldwork experience with the tailors has led me to conclude that because they are far more important for the survival of the cultural heritage about capulana's fashion (because of their traditional skills and knowledge) than if they were merely performing the traditional craft, the need to

²⁰⁵ Accordingly to Torcado, D. Cacilda was a cloth merchant and owner of Cacilda store, no Xipamanime 67, where in the 1960's it was usual to go choose the nicest *capulanas*, those of the latest fashion. (2004:11).

upgrade their technical skills (as many have confined to me) must be taken into a more serious account. Even if their work is mainly based on cut-fitted capulana clothing to produce more traditional-like forms of Western and African sartorial, they play a very important role in re-designing tradition. So I found it crucial to answer their imminent need for developing their technical skills in specific clothing construction know-how (such as measuring, pattern-making and finishing) in order to attain a more privileged rank within identity, knowledge, job market, thus becoming more competitive and, consequently, improve their living conditions. Aware of this need, I come up with yet another proposal for a practical training program to be later developed in Lisbon (chapter 6 – case study 1 – EPAT), now specifically focused on the mission of empowering as many of African immigrant tailors as the program's selecting criteria allowed to.

This work included – mainly through the practical co-design workshops (or creative laboratories), the inclusion of participants' CK deeply rooted in each individual's intellectual and artistic inheritance as a resourceful working tool, more precisely when looking for fashion-able challenges surrounding the (re)usage of capulana whether as a piece of fabric when cut and patterned into many new potential forms of clothing (EPAT – case study 1) or as a cloth draped/wrapped around the body in its multiple possible ways (with Capulanar – case study 2).

This methodological and pedagogical choice was further useful to test the effectiveness of my theoretical and practical approach to D4S involving the African/Mozambican community in Lisbon whilst exploring how their CK could be used in a co-creative collaboration that searched for diverse fashion-able (affective) ways to upgrade capulana's tradition into contemporary (slow) fashion discourses at the same time building identity and cultural awareness for this community.

Summing up, and illustrated on Fig. 4.7, the structure of my research is centred on a practical application of the three main cultural concepts behind capulana (Slow-fashion, Co-design and Affectivity) and focused on developing as many fashion-able design possibilities as each working group could come up with. This praxis, serving both pedagogical and academic purposes, evolved from the epistemological principles of D4S herein accounting for its four grounding spheres: the Social, the Economical, the Environmental and, the Cultural (knowledge).²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ See Fig 4.5 presenting the Diagram of the D4S definition taken on this research.

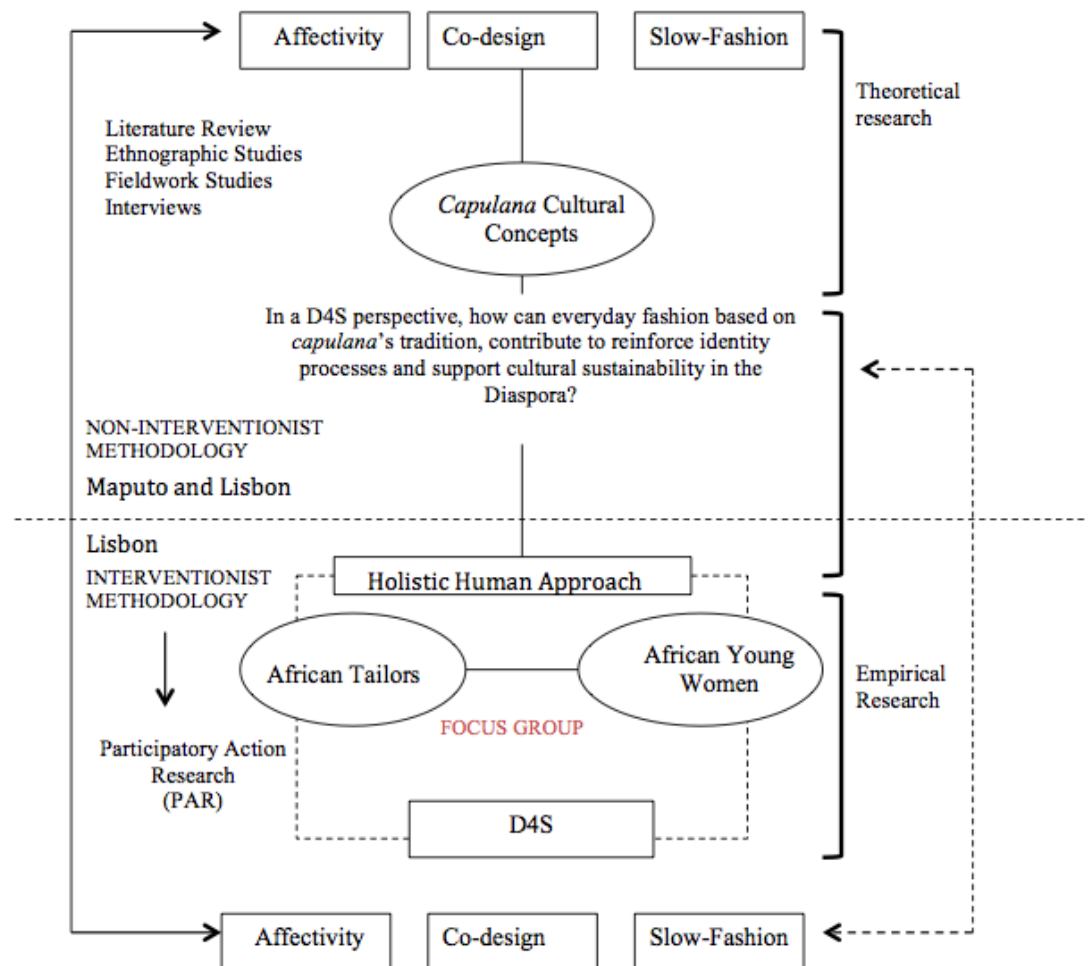


Figure 4.7: Research-Project Mind Map

Introduction to the next chapters

The Case Studies in Lisbon: The African Tailors and The Mozambican young (women) fashion designers

The last chapters pointed out that there is still much more to learn about African cloth and whether the historical pattern of cultural and social interaction around the usage of this cloth is part of the cultural mosaic of Mozambique.

It was thanks to the first analysis of all data collected from my fieldwork, and the reflection about the issues identified along with further technical and theoretical readings on this thesis' core subject, that I could elaborate and move on to the next steps involved in this project, and thereof develop specific practical work with the selected African community in Lisbon.

To highlight the importance of this cloth for contemporary fashion practices linked to sustainability, and departing from main research question, In a D4S perspective, how can everyday fashion based on capulana's tradition, contribute to reinforce identity processes and support cultural sustainability in the Diaspora? my focus in this stage of the research is about the process of developing clothing and identity by exploring (with the focus groups) fashion-able challenges for the creative (re)usage of the capulana fabric nowadays.

Aiming to answer the main research question, I programmed two practical workshops aware of the cultural concepts of the object of study (Affectiveness, Co-design and Slow-fashion). I took them as essential guidelines to develop sustainable solutions that bridge generational gaps around the re-usage of traditional capulana and the fragile chains of production made with this cloth. Yet with this research I underline the importance of co-designing with the (African/Mozambican) community for a more effective design outcome and less biased results. In this particular case, it is important to include their CK. That means not only to understand the historical and important role of African tailors in passing on capulana tradition (chapter 5) – and to educate current African tailors in this sustainable tradition with EPAT– but also to include the (cultural) knowledge Mozambican women acquire through oral tradition and to include this knowledge in the design process with Capulanar.

The core aim of this research also includes the search for design methodologies based on both D4S practices and on the cultural values/concepts embodied in capulana fabric. This search might enable, functionally and symbolically, the innovation of tradition and of open actions that strengthen Fashion-able challenges for the creative (re)usage of the capulana fabric. I threw the assumptions (chapter 1) that: when developing a co-design educational program (EPAT) with quite a large number of members from the African community in Lisbon, and by using capulana's cultural concepts at the centre of these practical actions, I might be able to favour the strengthening of fragile chains of capulana-based-clothing production, likewise empowering tailors' knowledge and skills and reaching identity building, cultural valorisation and social equity (sub-questions 1 and 2); and to legitimate the position of capulana-based-clothing into the realm of contemporary African in a way that helps to strengthen identity and support sustainability, designers should be aware of the values intrinsic to capulana's cultural concepts because they may be the guide to develop D4S solutions for the actual generational gaps that exist around capulana's tradition (sub-question 3).

To meet these assumptions, with the three core capulana concepts in mind (see Research-Project Framework Structure, Fig. 4.6), two different approaches were applied to each Co-design work using the cloth: One developed with the African Immigrant Tailors (in the EPAT training program) where the traditional fabric piece is cut into different patterns to produce diverse and personal designs of fashion-able clothing made of capulana in a slow rhythm process of construction as traditionally tailors already work (chapter 6). The other developed with Young African Women (Capulanar workshop series) where based on a single design – solely based on an original uncut capulana – multiple draping-wrapping forms were tried out to offer a manifold of options to the same wardrobe (Chapter 7).

Both actions are grounded in the ideas of Fuad-Luke and his reflection on the importance of Co-design as a premise offering “an opportunity for multi-stakeholders and actors to collectively define the context and problem, and in doing so improve the chances of a design outcome being effective” (2009: 147). Always focusing on the everyday fashion field, the development of these formative educational actions are also based on the theories postulated by Fletcher (2008) and her arguments debating the importance of Slow-fashion in the creation of a more sustainable fashion. Alike Fuad-Luke, Fletcher emphasizes the relevance of a model of action based on the participation of the user, allowing the design to become the trigger point of a change in society (Fletcher, 2008: 193). Finally, these actions also refers to the ideas of the designer Ehrenfeld (2008) who highlights the significance of a sustainable development linked to social and cultural aspects, which focuses on the ‘being’ instead of the unsustainable ‘having’, as a variant of human existence. When emphasizing the importance of Affectivity, with case study 1 and 2, it’s the intrinsic value of the making-of production itself that is sustained in a very existentialist way of acting. Redundantly meaning an intentional act of pro-action that, on the one hand, suggests ‘a need to do something’ instead of ‘need something’ (Ehrenfeld, idem: 138) and, on the other hand, quoting Borgeson (2006) attests for an affectionate sustainability of objects. This means, that on an intangible dimension, sustainability is generated from the objects’ durability, cognitive satisfaction and the wish to keep, preserve and take care of that same object (Chapman, 2005: 75-76 and Ehrenfeld, 2008: 133).

In both actions, when co-working with tailors-students at Modatex on the construction and design of their own training/learning program, or when co-working with the Young African women, I applied a participatory action research-based approach, actively involving community’s participants in the study-field. This methodology is further discussed along the following chapters.

But before presenting the Empirical Research, for fieldwork’s accuracy, and to better establish an accurate relationship between chain of creativity and tailoring production it became necessary to locate and identify (or rather to profile) as clearly as possible, where and in which legal terms and physical conditions tailors wheter in Maputo or in Lisbon, did exactly work. This first section is very important as a basis to present the gathering of particular data based on the exploratory study done with the AIT in Lisbon.

Chapter 5 Tailoring practices: Maputo and Lisbon's actual contexts

5.1. Introduction

It was made clear before that if we want to contribute to reinforce African identity and cultural sustainability based on capulana's tradition, the key role African tailors play in both African and European context must be recognized. Prior to the play action research workshops, it became necessary to better understand the context in which tailors live and work. Considering that same role, I questioned how can the role of African tailors – as residents whether in Maputo or in Lisbon – be described?²⁰⁷ Primarily it is crucial to grasp the very important role played by African tailors whose creative practices based on traditional tailoring training are likely to induce the development of local African Fashion. As highlighted in previous chapters 3 and 4, when talking about everyday clothing and identity tailors have been one of the most important mediators in African culture. In her Dakar case study Grabski (2009:222) also points out that “tailors not only draw information and inspiration from urban visual experience, they are also important agents in shaping it.” And when transposing the study to Lisbon's diaspora context, I may ask if this mediating role is still identifiable on the work done by African immigrant tailors living in Lisbon. To answer this question a comparative study of both realities is necessary. Drawing insights from my fieldwork (Maputo and Lisbon), and addressing the first sub-question (above), I first sought to trace how certain cross-cultural past traditions embedded in clothing production, trade and usage are still being continued by African tailoring practices nowadays. This continuity reveals the permeability of times and highlights the importance professional tailors have in local fashions with a range of trends, patterns, colours, as well as SHC. This can be historically and culturally ‘situated’ in different cultural and time frames, and yet preserve its African traditional aesthetics and at the same time strengthen tailor's identity. On chapter 2 it was already given an historical perspective on tailoring discussing its apprentice system. It was also shown how Portuguese colonial missionary education influenced local dressing codes and, consequently, African tailoring practices. The same chapter also describes two different periods: (1) the last phase of colonial presence (1890's – mid 1970's), and (2) the nationalist struggle for liberation (1964-1970's) and the return of the iconic capulana. While in chapter 3 section 3.3.1 gives a brief view about tailoring practices in Maputo, this section goes deeper on the sociological situation of ‘real’ everyday tailoring practices, which I was able to observe during my fieldwork in 2011, first in Maputo (Fieldwork phase I) and later in Lisbon in a context of diaspora (Fieldwork phase II).

To answer sub-question (1) I applied Glaser & Strauss (1967) Grounded Theory Method on the analysis of qualitative data collected during two different phases of my study, more specifically: the fieldwork study about the activities of African tailors' communities in both Maputo and Lisbon urban centers (1st phase April-May 2011 and June-July 2011, respectively); and the case study developed with the group of African immigrant tailors in Lisbon (2nd phase October 2011- December 2012). With this method I included a set of qualitative semi-structured interviews used to support both my participant observation in the field (Maputo and Lisbon

²⁰⁷ Subquestion 1

realms) and the respective final reports in which the original data was re-reviewed. In total I interviewed 5 tailors in Maputo and 5 tailors in Lisbon. I opted to make interviews both in situ at the interviewees' work sites (Maputo and Lisbon), and during the African Tailors' Training Program at Modatex (see Appendix A). Each interview took around 15 minutes. In spite of not being a commonly recommended procedure in Grounded Theory Method, I opted to have all interviews first recorded via audio or video and then transcribed into the final reports, later used to draw the conclusions further on presented on this thesis. Next Sections 5.2 and 5.3 will add important data about nowadays tailoring practices in both cities. And section 5.4 will show a conclusive reflection about the comparative study I've made about these agents for everyday fashion with capulana.

5.2. Fieldwork phase I: Locating Tailoring Production and Chain of Creativity in the City of Maputo.

In nowadays Maputo the craftsmanship and business of tailoring survived all constraints of the precedent colonial regim and men resiliently kept their role within society as the primary agents of this traditional practice. Apparently, this male-oriented profession was in such way fully revived to its original forms in post-colonial period that even the previous colonialist westernizing attempt to assign sewing and stitching jobs to young girls and women did not subsist, and thus the tradition of tailoring as a men's occupation came back stronger than it ever was. Further to this account, during our 2011 fieldwork I did not encounter any seamstresses doing this kind of craftwork, but men tailors only. It was important to observe how significant the role these local tailors play in clothing production in general and, particularly, in combining at least three different common kinds of creative processes to fulfil their customers' demands: reproducing, building and remaking. The type of knowledge these tailors hold is apparently endogenous to the whole social structure in which this profession is developed and maintained, and in such way it acts as a cultural (re)generator²⁰⁸ of both craftsmanship and its sartorial production.

For the purpose of this research and respective fieldwork's accuracy, and to better establish an accurate relationship between chain of creativity and tailoring production it became necessary to locate and identify (or rather to profile) as clearly as possible, where and in which legal terms and physical conditions these tailors did exactly work. After confronting official data with what I observed in the field, my curiosity rose by realizing that whatever we get from the records is not so close to what I really saw throughout Maputo's streets and markets²⁰⁹. From my observation, I conclude that in most popular areas of the city, tailors work outside at the terraces of their own houses, garments in "tiny stalls or even their own living quarters." (Rabine, 2002:36), normally contiguous to the street markets where, either by themselves or in groups, they tend to have their working-stands in much demarcated areas (see pictures 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9). Predominantly, the majority have humble resources and tools, still using manual sewing machines; and only few workshops with electricity enable them to use iron. The wealthier tailors can have electric power and more modern industrial appliances.

²⁰⁸ The term *regenerator* is used here to identify the kind of re-creative work resulting from a complex *matrix* of references that recuperate traditional *capulanas* in the production of new fashion sartorial. This common practice involves creatively remixing sewn garments made of *capulana* with *upcycled* imported pieces of clothing and often an array of veils, Western style suits, shirts, and dresses without any kind of African style references and second-hand garments (re-styling *xicalamidade* — as highlighted in Chapter 3, page 142) or whichever is the selection that better fit the taste and customs of their clientele.

²⁰⁹ I interviewed tailors from wealthier neighbourhoods - such as Polana Cimento A, Bairro Central and Alto Maé A - to central ones like Malhangalene A and B, and less urbanized areas such as Polana Caniço A and B and Xipamanine, tailors are found all over the city (see on page 115 the Map - Figure. 3.1 - showing the fieldwork area covered by my research).

As tailors revealed in the interviews, although they recognize themselves as active participants in local fashion production, only some of them work with a registered activity. According to Maputo's municipality statistical profile merely 66 dressmakers have registered their activity²¹⁰, although it is not clear if this data is referring to tailors (men) or dressmakers (women). The same source indicates that from 2004 to 2011 this number did not increase. This informal activity remains mainly invisible to official institutions and hence stays constrained in its productivity. In fact, generally a tailor's working 'place' found in some street markets, may be "covered by payment of specific fees to the municipal authorities." (Da Silva, 2008: 3). However, as I was able to notice, legal supervision of production, sales and taxes are scarce if not zero. This was also confirmed in the interviews with the five tailors. As Nhatsave argued, their activity is strategically based on "low quantity of production, in order to avoid being identified by government institutions, [and] obtaining productivity gains is consequently not feasible" (2011:7).

5.2.1 Clustering

Considering how tailors in Maputo face, and adjust to, their major economic difficulties, opting to work in groups has brought them several advantages which include mainly: "...job guidance, social responsibility, moral values and community participation." (Kanu, 2007: 72). As added by Cohen, this is the sort of "collaborative work that grants workers' relative autonomy in the labour process and facilitates self-expression and opportunities to engage in total human activity" (2012: 142). Indeed, when asked about the positive aspects in opting to organize themselves collectively the tailors pointed out that this kind of social-professional clustering contributes to:

- Gathering Xitique (term of Bantu origins meaning 'savings'): "community practices of mutual aid among community members." (Dava, Low & Matusse, 1998: 323) under solidary mechanisms of 'rotating savings and credit' (Trindade, 2013: 239). And, more specifically, the xitique de cartão (a combined savings/credit card) that began being used in 1990 in the outskirts of Maputo's markets. According to Nhatsave (2011) this xitique card gives credit to its customers based on their monthly deposits, with the possibility for the loan to reach its maturity after one month or more²¹¹;
- Reinforcing a sense of labour union, which enables a stronger network to ensure professional and survival necessities between tailors;
- Facilitating workload distribution when (lead tailors) may help other tailors with elementary sewing skills;
- Improving learning technical skills whilst apprentices learn from master-tailors, in a closer chain of knowledge equity;
- Sharing material resources, such as tools and equipment, among the closest peers is also common practice that grants tailors with solidary networking realm.

Sociability and knowledge sharing improve camaraderie, trust and commitment. And this same type of social-professional clustering strategy chosen to overcome the risk and uncertainty of a vulnerable profession can actually be also found among the immigrant tailors' community in Lisbon, as highlighted in the next

²¹⁰ For further details on this information consult electronic source:

http://www.aucplp.net/uploads/5/6/3/9/5639534/perfil_estatistico_do_municipio_de_maputo.pdf

²¹¹ This 'social coin' already in usage in many different countries in the world is one of the current alternative mechanisms for Sustainable Economy. Authors like Euclides Mance (2003b), Marcos Arruda (2005) and Paul Singer (2002b), highly defend that Solidarity Economy has an essential role in sustainable development, wealth redistribution, social justice and conscious consumption.

section. Likewise observed in Maputo, such clustering activities - besides strengthening this informal sector and its community networks - also reinforce a greater sense of group identity. Hence, even if informally organized, self-employed and 'self-sufficient', the strategy to gather as a group has become essential for this community of tailors to survive on a daily basis when facing the so many hindrances around political, economic, bureaucratic and educational constraints. After several informal interviews, talks and meetings at their workshops, I could understand that in fact, within the tailors' community in Maputo, there is a clear awareness of a great number of problems amidst their daily working conditions as well as in their vocational education, which can be resumed as it follows:

- In spite of tailors' professional craftsmanship being a considerable part of the national cultural heritage, and as such widely recognized by society bearing a significance role within Mozambican cultural identity, yet political and institutional agencies ought to recognize tailoring for its high potential to regenerate / re-create parallel or alternative economic, social and even cultural mechanisms likely to contribute for a sustainable development, positively²¹²;
- The lack of political and institutional recognition for this profession is intrinsically due to its informal apprenticeship-knowledge-transfer method, which is not valued as an integral or relevant component of the national (and even international) formal or non-formal educational systems;
- Given that tailoring is traditionally taught through informal learning based on apprenticeship, there is hardly any training adopting a full-fledged and coherent education program with masters ready and willing to thoroughly teach their pupils up to the highest degree;
- Facing high competitiveness as a necessity to survive among peers, master-tailors due to their own 'insecurity' often lower their apprentices' training level, fearing to train too well their own future competitors who may exceed their own skills;
- Tailors live in poor conditions and work in the 'informal' sector, and they grew up in the streets or markets without access to basic living conditions, such as electricity, running water or sewage facilities;
- In Maputo, those masters and apprentice(s) that generally work on a custom-made-order basis and, thus restrained to the client's specific whims, are likely to have fewer chances to develop their own creativity while deepening their skills and mastery;
- Street-tailors have no access to any form of public financial support system (like soft loans, for example) to help them to better develop their businesses and working conditions;
- Deprived of a formal schooling system, which may empower them with another type of technical knowledge and skills, tailors strive for obtaining the right accreditation that will eventually grant them official recognition and better living and working conditions, if not in Maputo, elsewhere in South Africa or Europe.

²¹² One can add to this account, that the kind of working practices such as the one endured by these tailors is likely to gather essential bases for a sustainable type of development, mainly because they foment slow-fashion by producing unique single pieces made for each customer's measurements and taste. And at the same time they are responsible for preserving traditions and the know-how passed on between generations of tailors. The fact that they work on fixing first and second-hand clothing also allows them to motivate conscious consumers that generate less waste and, finally, the character of their entrepreneurship, though small and slow, truly potentiates economic growth through the creation of their micro-companies.

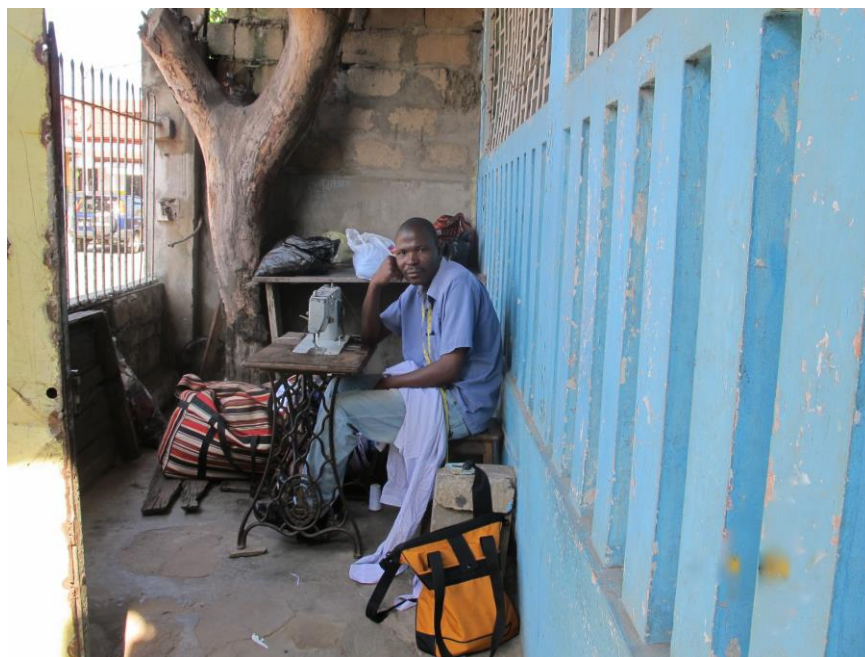


Figure 5.1: Tailor working at the terrace of a house in the neighbourhood of Malhnagalene in Maputo. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, May 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.



Figure 5.2: Tailor working at the Janette market in Maputo. Records from my fieldwork, Maputo, May 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

5.2.2 Raising Issues: Schooling, Employment and Formal Recognition

Most policy-makers and civil society practitioners²¹³ do not recognize the active role played by tailors in participating in the revival of urban creativity around modern African fashion production. Indeed, although tailors' know-how is a considerable part of African tailoring living heritage, there still doesn't exist an

²¹³ Meaning with *practitioners* those who work within NGOs and in bilateral development cooperation.

effective support from any public government agency to help tailors to improve their working facilities and networking as both traditional and creative fashion practitioners in cities like Maputo. Otherwise, alternative financial support is based on informal mechanisms of social protection – such as the aforementioned *xitique* – to efficiently develop the artistry of tailoring in order to not only upgrade skills, but also to contribute to social cohesion and community development, thus overcoming the precariousness of the social system and the uncertainty about the future of this profession and its practitioners. If tailors' working practices in Maputo reveal that their learning system is still based on years (and centuries) of growing apprenticeship, from boyhood to adulthood, this traditional way of education has shown to hardly provide these professional men with a more 'formal' training (meaning within a broader type of educational programs) conventionally aimed to promote international recognition and accreditation of their actual professions. After all, this would not be such a challenging handicap if emigrating – from Mozambique to other African countries and/or to other continents²¹⁴ – was not the ultimate emergent solution taken by these tailors in their hopeful struggle to find better living conditions and thus a better future. For instance, over the course of my fieldwork interviews in Maputo, when asked about this reality several tailors replied that emigrating to other locations within the continent (especially South Africa, where the textile industry is well developed) is a considerable alternative to escape the precarious working and educational conditions in their hometown, while others considered that after dreaming for years of having a comely job structure and/or the possibility of attending school for better training accreditation. Immigrating to Europe is always another significant option, even if that involves taking higher risks such as living and working under an illegal status²¹⁵.

Next paragraphs give insights about the fieldwork developed in Lisbon, where I actually could find a vibrant African community that over centuries has changed the Northern-Southern visual appeal of this eclectic metropolis' urban landscape. In a glimpse, bright clothing, a mix of African prints' mainly patterns from West Africa²¹⁶ but also *capulanas*, veils and turbans are an eye catch for the whimsical commodity networks that (re)connect these immigrants with their diverse African origins.

²¹⁴ In the post-colonial years the most common emigration destinations have been South Africa, Germany and Portugal.

²¹⁵ African immigrants can only obtain legal status (i.e. Residency Visa) whether if they get a work contract with at least one year worth of Social Security discounts; marry a citizen from the country they are emigrating to; or have a child registered in the country of immigration. For further information on this matter check the site of ACIDI, the Portuguese High Commission for the Immigration and Intercultural Dialog:

<http://www.oi.acidi.gov.pt/docs/rm/GuiaJuridico/livroguiajuridico.pdf>.

²¹⁶ After browsing several shops selling African fabrics, I realized that the majority of the textiles came from West Africa, particularly from Nigeria. Besides these shops, a kind of African grocery store owned and/or ran by African people where food products are sold along fabrics, there is also in some other stores of clothing made with European fabrics a specific section for African fabrics. After interviewing the owners of these latter stores I came to the conclusion that they were also immigrants but from Latin America and that is why they are so affectively close to African textiles as well. Otherwise, some *capulanas* from Mozambique can be purchased at the actual ateliers ran by African tailors and also at a particular store near Santa Apolónia (Lisbon's Grand Train Station) which owner frequently travels to Mozambique, whence developing a line of African clothing through the atelier 'Joana Capulana'.

5.3. Fieldwork phase 2: The context of immigration- the Lisbon case

5.3.1 Mapping the community of African Tailors

At downtown Lisbon, amongst the gathering crowds chatting, watching, bargaining, listening, making deals and alliances, tailors take care of importing the so called 'typical' African clothes and cloths²¹⁷ from Africa through complex and internal webs within the African community. However, because these webs are informal and imply a particular and internal chain of clothing production, to identify the resident community of tailors in Lisbon was not a simple task.



Figure 5.3: Interviewing a tailor from Guinea Bissau at his home based workshop. Records from my fieldwork, Lisbon, Juin 2011.

Various associations of African immigrants in Lisbon ²¹⁸ as well as formal institutions²¹⁹ play a central role in the integration process of immigrants as they work closely to give them direct support: at the level of social and community development, while defending immigrants' interests and the concrete needs of immigrants, such as support offices for family reunification, legal advice and employment. Although relevant from the perspective of the immigration context, no institution has

actual data about

immigrant African

tailors that live and work in Lisbon. Therefore, it became necessary to include in the fieldwork another research stage that involved mapping this particular group of individuals within the greater Lisbon area designated for our study. Aware of the implications of such task, and of the necessity to get help from the community itself, I received the support of a tailor from Guinea Bissau, who actually had been the only resident immigrant tailor I knew at that time in Lisbon. Soon, this tailor became the appropriate connection between the community and me and as such

²¹⁷ Crescência Nhamué in her graduating Final Research Project *African Clothing and Identity in the Town of Maputo* ('Roupa Africana e Identidade na Cidade de Maputo', 2004: 54) calls our attention for the risk of talking about 'typical African clothing' given the geographical, sociological and historical context of constant mutual influences mainly from India, Arabian Peninsula and Europe. This phenomenon is here cross-referred by the author as 'hybridism or creolezation' (after Stuart Hall, 1992; and Ayse S. Çağlar, 1997). In the context of my thesis, however, I prefer to classify this phenomenon as 'intercultural permeability' because I'm talking about fashion and actual formal nature of fabrics, cloth, clothing, etc., in the sense of textile properties both physically interwoven and non-repellent but rather absorbent, and not necessarily something *genetically modified* in its *structural DNA*.

²¹⁸ Associação Comunitaria, Associação Casa da Guiné, Associação Casa de Moçambique, Associação Cabo-Verdiana, Associação Solidariedade Emigrante, etcetera

²¹⁹ Such as the two National Immigrant Support Centres : Portuguese High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI, I.P.) and the National Immigrant Support Centres – CNAI.

the key element in mapping all other tailors. Every new contact brought in his network of tailors finally led to the mapping of them all (a total of 17 African Immigrant tailors).

Soon I understood that the immigrant community of African tailors in this city is composed of individuals from many different countries, but mainly from West African origins. From the participants: 9 tailors were from Guinea Bissau, 1 from Sierra Leone, 3 from Guinea Conakry, 1 from Gambia, 1 from Senegal and 2 from Cape Verde. For data accuracy, several meetings were planned beforehand and this mapping procedure included direct observation at their ateliers' working environment. Meanwhile, audio and photographic records (see Fig. 5.3) and semi-structured interviews with selected immigrant tailors (from both Portuguese-speaking and non-Portuguese speaking countries) were also conducted, progressively.

Confronting the data collected from the fieldwork in Maputo and now regarding the principal features of African tailors' professional activity in Lisbon, the overall scope of my observations can be resumed as following:

- (i) Their ages range from 28 to 60 years old and regarding their vocational education, the length of time they have learned tailoring may also vary, conditioning both the ability to respond to more specialized job-projects and the required qualifying entrance level to any eventual continuing education training at several possible trade schools' programs.
- (ii) The period they have been living in the country is different and change from 12 years to few months. It is worth pointing out that this difference depends highly on the fact of regularized legal (working and/or resident) visa status or temporary permissions to remain in the country, and so they can only stay for shorter periods of time.
- (iii) 25% of them have come to Lisbon with their family, while 75% of them have come alone not seeing their family for years; and each month they try to send them as much money as possible (via cash transfers).
- (iv) Their housing is very small; usually they live in the periphery with members of their family or with other immigrants.
- (v) Most of the tailors reveal that they have writing difficulties as a result of the traditional oral knowledge transfer and lack of schooling in their countries of origin.
- (vi) With lack of access to employment, all of them work in an irregular situation whether they work in the building construction, or any other jobs rarely related to their tailoring profession.
- (vii) They live in poor conditions as tailoring activities gives them a salary on average ranging from 200 to 500 euros a month.
- (viii) Some of them manage to have their own workshop (sometimes with apprentices by their side), others work from home instead.
- (ix) Regarding the target customers, even though the majority of them are from the African resident community, immigrant tailors' relational permeability has allowed them to easily adapt their know-hows to other non-African tastes and styles' demands. In that way widening their clientele to include quite a good amount of customers from Portugal, China and Brazil (as one tailor has specifically told me)²²⁰.
- (x) Given the scarcity of their subsistence 50% of the group cannot continue their tailoring activities; and all individuals can't afford further access to school to obtain the professional training accreditation they have dreamt of for so long.
- (xi) Those who managed to have a shop (and maintain it) were likely able to find

²²⁰ I agree with Horta (2008: 8) that this is evidence of 'relational permeable boundaries', meaning that such business opportunities may also go beyond the ethnic/community circuit.

support within the community structures²²¹.

- (xii) In spite of the possibility for a better professional status and thus financial income, greater obstacles lead a large number of immigrant tailors to demonstrate a strong wish and intention to return to their home countries, “Europe is not what I thought it was,” says one of the tailors.

5.3.2 Clustering in Lisbon

Whether to find a place to work or to establish their workshop, or to work next to each other, or just settle their activity in the same neighbourhood, in Lisbon area tailors basically move among specific clustering networks (similarly identified in Maputo before). Sociability and knowledge sharing improve camaraderie, trust and commitment. And this same type of social-professional clustering strategy, chosen to overcome the risk and uncertainty of this vulnerable profession, can actually be found among the immigrant tailors’ community in Lisbon as well. Most of the African immigrant tailors live and work in downtown areas of Rossio, Martim Moniz and Av. Almirante Reis. Here they tend to cluster at the Habib Shopping Hall in Lisbon, since the eighties a central place for this community to strive, many others live and work in the outskirts of greater Lisbon, especially in the Amadora-Sintra area. This latter location is not necessarily a choice but rather a condition pre-established in the aftermath of the decolonization process which provoked, quoting Maria Lucinda Fonseca (2003) in her study undertaken within the project Reinventing Portuguese Metropolis: Immigrants and Urban Governance:²²²

“ the return of expats from the African ex-colonies, in 1975-76 and, from mid-1980’s [one witnesses] an increasing number of foreigners. This demographic growth reflected itself in the accretion of house search, unable to satisfy by the formal housing market neither by social housing. As a consequence of this process new needs rose within this sector and a parallel market was developed to supply the demand segments insolvent for the formal market: subleasing of rooms and house sections in private homes in Lisbon’s historical neighbourhoods, and propagation of slums and illegal dwellings in the periphery of Lisbon.

²²¹ These community structures are internal mechanisms occurring in the periphery of the social milieu where immigrants work (and live) and, apparently, integrating side markets and services to support the community. For instance, in this specific case of tailors, we found out that the majority of their shops / ateliers actually belongs to a wealthier member of the community or else, to East Indian landlords who rent the facilities to the tailors on a commission base. Otherwise, working materials such as African fabrics and trims are obtained via an internal network of traders that bring the products directly from Africa at more affordable prices.

²²² My translation of an excerpt from the original article entitled: ‘Reinventar as metrópoles portuguesas: imigrantes e governança urbana’ (FCT-POCTI/35599/GEO/2001, funded by FEDER) and part of a conference paper presented by the author at the ‘First Congress Immigration in Portugal – Diversity, Citizenship and Integration’ held at The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon, December 18th-19th 2003. Available online at: <http://www.ceg.ul.pt/migrare/events/ICongressoLF.htm>



Figure 5.4: Interviewing a tailor from Guinea Bissau working at his shop. Records from my fieldwork, Lisbon, Juin 2011.

Therefore, by the time African immigration started to rise, particularly from the PALOP [Portuguese-speaking African countries], the offer of affordable housing solutions, in the city, was far too limited. So staying in the city's downtown, if happening, would normally correspond to short term accommodation in hostels or rented rooms, moving rapidly after to the slums or to clandestine housing within the city area, or in the municipalities around the first suburban ring. As these migratory currents started consolidating, the networking mechanisms produced clusters of immigrants from the same geographic origin."

This quote makes clear how an immigrant community, without any means, is conditioned to stay together and to create their own slums, meaning a life in poverty and no stimulus to integrate with non-African inhabitants. Those who are coming from former Portuguese colonies are better off, but for those who don't master the Portuguese language it is even harder, leading to (social and economic) isolation.



Figure 5.5: A West African immigrant tailor working at his shop in Lisbon. Records from my fieldwork, Lisbon, June 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

Likewise observed in Maputo, such clustering activities, besides strengthening this informal sector and its community network, also reinforce a greater sense of group identity. Hence, for the same reasons as the tailors' clustering in Maputo, in Lisbon it has become essential for this community of tailors to survive on a daily basis. Although their stay in central Lisbon or in the outskirts' area may vary from some months to several years, immigrant tailors seem to prefer to find basic needs and support on pre-existing social and financial structures within the newly hosting community, in such a way that they tend to carry out their professional

activities distant from private or public institutionalized mechanisms, whether that may be delivery commodities' service, employment or business subsidizing, or even official schooling programs for training requalification and accreditation.

5.4. Reflections

This deeper analysis from the two phases of my fieldwork offered a framework for further discussion about co – learning practices in tailoring and identity. Comparatively to what I found in Maputo, African textiles and traditional clothing symbolize a tailor's sense of being African. So, most of the tailors in both cities proudly work on this basis giving continuity to traditional and new capulana clothing, simultaneously.

Concerning my subquestion how can the role of African tailors – as residents whether in Maputo or in Lisbon – be described?, this chapter lead me to conclude that African tailors are key players in developing everyday fashion and thus preserving a strong cultural knowledge about African tailoring , capulanas and African textiles in general. Yet the fieldwork led me to conclude that policy makers and civil society practitioners, in general, don't recognize the tailors' role in participating in the revival of urban creativity around capulana fashion production, so tailors can't enhance better life and working conditions. In their own words, tailors feel highly deprived from any institutional supporting mechanism whether that is continuing school programs or formal legalized working systems. When I asked them about Europe all of them dreamed about a Europe as a land of hope for education and job. Although tailoring may be a low-income profession that entails the need to migrate, the fact that it is such a skilful handcraft enabling to apply anywhere in the world, may also make it less hard for tailors to resettle and keep making a living out of their original activities in new countries. I found that tailors in both cities search for better living, working and educational opportunities. Overall, in both cities the tailors face daily social and economic integration issues. They resent several fragilities in knowledge-transfer chains and fear not achieving the technical skills' improvement they planned for. Because in Maputo the community of tailors is bigger they feel more 'protected' than in Lisbon. As I argued before, clustering is also a strategy of protection.

The issues referred above led me to better reflect on the aim of identity building and knowledge empowerment to create a training program suitable to the needs and features of this group of African immigrant tailors in Lisbon. Timely, at this phase of my fieldwork between Maputo and Lisbon, I could be fully aware of the complexity of the tailoring profession's trade market and once again of the urgency of further accreditation that many immigrant tailors sought for in Lisbon. The opportunity to get the kind of school training which would allow them to not only have the proper formal labour recognition to become legally certified tailors, but also to accrue further technical learning to their former apprenticeship thus potentiating the upgrade of their knowledge.

I started to think how could I develop a more formal training that could be also co-learning experiences. I realised that the 5 interviewed tailors in Lisbon were really looking for adding a whole new experience in Western-style pattern cutting, sewing techniques and also to gather a solid basis on innovation techniques in garment design. To achieve greater professional skills with such training they hoped to upgrade their techniques whilst improving their know-how about tailor-made garments and clothing apparel in general. Meanwhile the following second sub-question arose:

2) How can tailoring be re-appropriated by a 'formal' education system in order to upgrade knowledge and skills of African tailors in Lisbon?

Having in mind the aim to strengthen the professional bases and technical

knowledge of this group by enabling them a better footing in society (in this case the Portuguese one) while giving them not only the well-merited chance to accrue livelihood but also to bring renewed élan and identity to their immigrant community, the next chapter 6 will deeply describe the practical work developed with the community of immigrant tailors I've implemented in Lisbon.

Chapter 6 Training program co-designed with and for the African immigrant tailors in Lisbon

6.1 A practical approach

To become clear that the best way, to answer the subquestion (2) how can tailoring be re-appropriated by a 'formal' education system in order to upgrade knowledge and skills of African tailors in Lisbon? was to develop and implement a co-learning training program (teacher and students collaborate in learning), and using the cultural concepts of *capulana* (Slow-fashion, Co-design and Affectivity) to empower tailors' knowledge and bring renewed élan and identity to their immigrant community.

In this way a training program for tailors could serve the following objectives as well: (a) empower tailor's knowledge and skills about clothing production; (b) improve the situation of participating tailors, (c) identity building among the African immigrant community through the mediating role of the participating tailors, and (d) gather data about the learning process and about the results of the training program in order to apply and adjust the model to other African realities. To answer this second subquestion and always to bear in mind the D4S core-subject of my thesis, my approach can be defined as participatory action research (PAR). A series of learning, change, and growth seen to be facilitated best by an integrated co-learning process that begins with here-and-now experience followed by collection of data and observations about that experience. The data are then analysed and the conclusions of this analysis are fed back to all actors in the experience for their use in the modification of their behaviour and choice of new experiences. This approach to learning is thus conceived by Kolb (1984) as a four-stage cycle, as shown in Fig. 6.1. Immediate concrete experience is the basis for observation and reflection. These observations are assimilated into a 'theory' from which new implications for action can be deduced.

The assumption underlying this pedagogical initiative was that a collaborative educational program, based on a D4S coursework that will constructively improve tailor's knowledge and skills, will empower them to position identity (and awareness of the community's identity), cultural valorisation, social equity and hence cultural sustainability. Yet, the purpose of developing an Educational Platform for African Tailors' (EPAT)²²³ that offers immigrant participants the possibility to take part in a learning experience, may contribute to a continuous encouragement of these participants to progress not only their personal development and social inclusion but also their responsibility for the African community in transferring identity and self-esteem. At the same time, they will learn from other cultural perspectives about tailoring, transforming the EPAT action into a space of mediation and dialogue to perform an in-depth inquiry into African and Western ways of developing clothing. Thereupon, the third stage was the evaluation of the results on the basis of data gathered during and after the course. Could we observe actual changes in skills and behaviour? What would be the consequences/factors of success for a new course? What do we all have learned with this experience?

²²³ As referred on the footnote 3 (page 9), EPAT (Education Platform for African Tailors) is the educational training program developed by me. It is specifically for resident/immigrant African tailors and it took place at the Professional Trade School MODATEX, in Lisbon. The first edition started on November 2011 to December 2012. After the initial phase of planning and implementation, however my regular presence as facilitator of the actual classwork was circumscribed between January 2012 and December 2012.

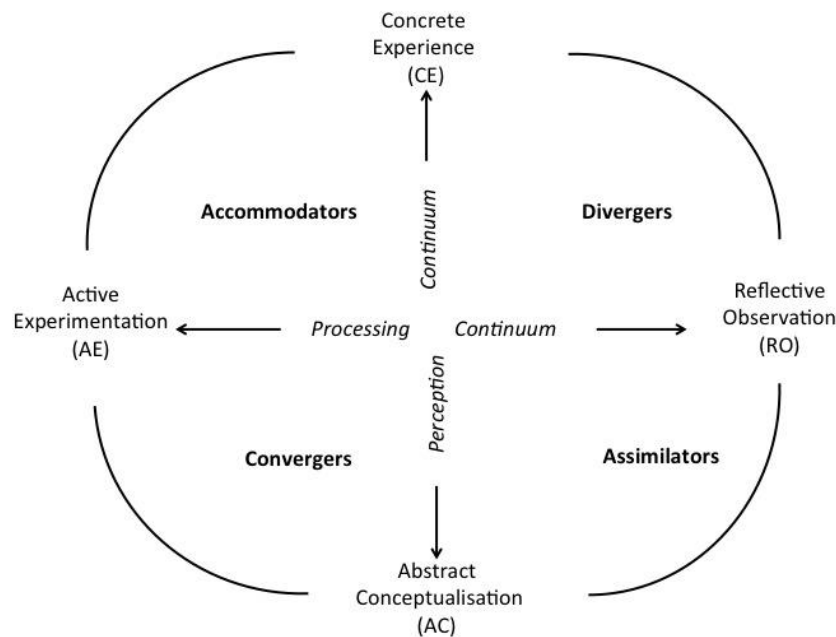


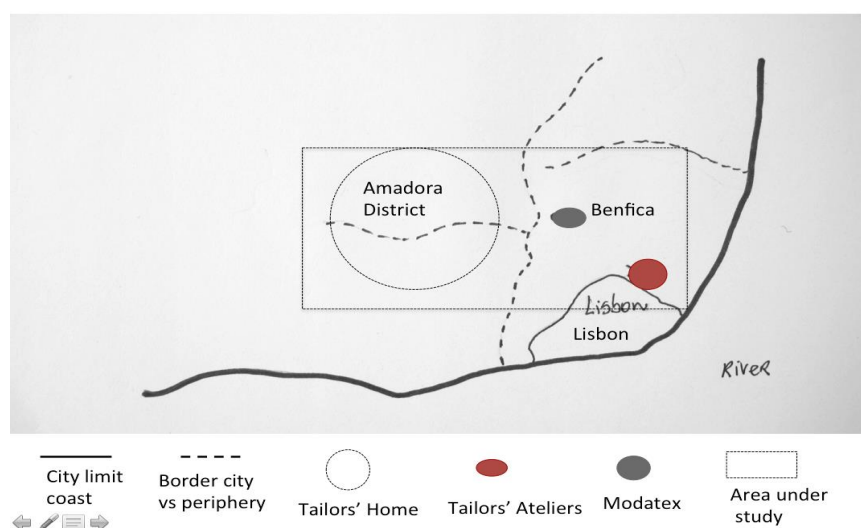
Figure 6.1: Kolb's experiential learning model (source: Kolb, 1984).

6.2. Target Group Selecting Assessment: who were the tailors?

Within the context of my present case study, an interview guide was designed to complement the selection of candidates for the training program. This interview guide included several open questions specifically aimed to collect open answers about their working and living conditions, their insights in immigration policies as well as their hopes and dreams about tailoring activity in the context of immigration. Additionally, three other criteria guided the selection of interviewees. The first criterion was to have knowledge of tailoring skills, the second was about the willingness to evolve in their learning, and the third one was about the willingness and availability to enrol in the program. See Map 3 showing my fieldwork area and the different locations (school, tailor's home and tailor's ateliers) associated to that area.

Significantly enough for my research, for the first edition of the program all selected interviewees were tailors who maintained strong (emotional and/or physical) connections with their home countries, and regarded tailoring as a tradition rooted in the nation.

At the end of all the interviewing and selection process, the first program was undertaken from November 2011 to December 2012. Eight tailors-students participated, the majority of them immigrants from West Africa – 5 from Guinea Bissau, 1 from Sierra Leone, 1 from Gambia, 1 from Guinea Conakry and 1 from Angola – each of them living with an average income of 300 euros per month. This later information was crucial for me to understand that in spite of their commitment and will to attend classes these tailors-students were struggling with money to pay travelling expenses. So, to encourage them to do not give up nor miss classes, from February 2012 onwards Modatex provided them with a small subsidy to cover the cost of public transportation (around 4.25 euros per day of school), thus overcoming the risk of absence as an eventual cause of failure. In order to successfully compromise the tailors-students' jobs with schooling, the training program followed a twice-a-week schedule from 6.30pm to 9.30pm.



Map 3: fieldwork area showing the different locations (Tailors ateliers, tailors' homes and Modatex Trade School) covered in my study in Lisbon. Drawing by Sofia Vilarinho.

6.3. The training: Grounding Principles and Organization

The first step was to find a trade school that would accept to be partner in this kind of action-research plan. And after several contacts, Modatex – a trade school specialized in the clothing and Fashion apparel industry subsidized by the Portuguese government agency for the employment and professional training – gladly accepted to become partner in this project.

Aware of the most important skills already featured in their traditional learning and respective work, and also of the imminent request for new Western-style technical approaches to tailoring,

This Co-designed approach started with a series of planning actions initiated by me in consultation with Modatex and the tailors. The second stage was the transformation itself through a learning process, the actual course at Modatex. Starting in November 2011, at Modatex, this educational platform is based on a learning model aimed to include the cultural concepts of *capulana* (slow-fashion, co-design and affectivity) and also to respond to the specificities of the whole program and to the contextual background of its participants. This stage included actions relating to learning processes and to executing changes in knowledge and skills as well as in the behaviour of the participating tailors. It was a continuous process of feed forward and feedback. This loop also effectuated the continuous adjustment of part of the course to bring the learning activities into better alignment with change objectives.

My methodological choices were mainly derived from Ehrenfeld's (2008) proposal to approach the need for Sustainable Development by focusing on the 'being' mode of human existence rather than on the unsustainable 'having'.²²⁴ Considering all I observed in Maputo and Lisbon about the African tailors communities and how tailors' work and cultural creativity are seen as key factors for everyday fashion and its potential participation in the world market, I became specially keen

²²⁴ Ehrenfeld's notion of *flourishing* is closely linked to Eric Fromm's concept of *having and being*. Fromm in his book 'to have or to be' (1976) defines that the difference between being and having is the difference between a society centered on the person (a human *being*) and a society centered on (*having*) things.

to Ehrenfeld's assertion forasmuch as in what the author stresses to be the need to build individual capability through social responsibility actions, the basis for an integral development of 'self-making' rebirth of identity, faith and confidence, personhood, improving autonomy, hope and wellbeing, pleasure of sharing and developing a sense of 'place making', meaning to improve individuals' livelihood, behaviour, skills, productive activity (rather than wasteful activity) or yet enhancing their role as citizen and practitioners.

By having in mind Fuad-Luke's ideas on how Co-design can actually boost sustainable design solutions, moreover I turned my research's intent to reveal the importance of practical actions for designing collectively, for it bears a strategy that "offers an opportunity for multi-stakeholders and actors to collectively define the context and the problem and in doing so improve the chance of a design outcome being effective." (2009: 147).

For the actual content of the course it was developed a co-education model, based on elements of formal and informal education. In order to focus on the tailors' needs, an active methodology was required to involve verbal discussions and exercise demonstrations, which supported by observation-based knowledge, reflection and personal exploration skills during the exercise (see Diagram 6.1). At the same time this contextualized approach provided opportunities for tailors to engage in active learning. Along the skills training, other sorts of issues could come up during the sessions, from very practical daily life like how to get the cheapest transport to school, to entrepreneurial skills, like how to set up their own website.

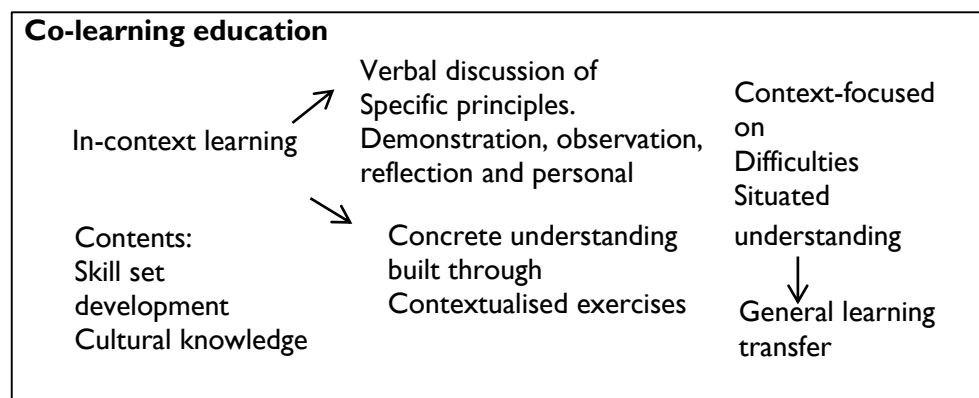


Diagram 6.1: Co-learning education based on both formal and informal elements of teaching and learning

While the program was co-designed with the students, I organized the coursework in a more participative manner. Choosing methods for oral discussions and exercise demonstrations that support knowledge development based on observation, reflection and personal exploration during the exercises. This contextualized approach provided opportunities for tailors to engage in active co- learning process, progressively at each one's space.

Since emphasizing the importance of affectivity and considering the affective bound tailors have with African cloth (such as capulana), we choose to use this cloth in our practical exercises. This approach implied a sense of respect for students' rhythm to process new upgrading knowledge (here linked to Slow-fashion rhythms of production) respectively and gradually feeling comfortable to free themselves for a peer-to-peer dialog between colleagues and teachers in such collaborative way that both sides got to share knowledge, opinions and issues about co-learning tailoring practices.

Specifically concerning the choice of the location to implement the EPAT, Modatex School²²⁵ was considered ideal for this purpose. The teaching staff included four teachers from Modatex and me. Modatex provided facilities, such as installations and materials (as papers for pattern drawing, and all machines we needed for the course). We used different classrooms according each course and required equipment. The program's structure was based on subjects that comprise the four phases involved in developing a garment: 1st drawing; 2nd flat pattern making; 3rd flat pattern cutting; 4th sewing and detail construction. In addition to these core subjects two more were added: IT (1st level) and Technology of Materials (1st level). Because of its professionalizing nature, the coursework had to be organized in a modular way. And to be coherent with our wish for a more constructivist pedagogical approach, the program's model was then designed with the tailors-students and divided into the following four main modules²²⁶:

1. Creative challenges (25 hours)
2. Flat pattern-cutting upgrade (50 hours)
3. Empowerment skills: cutting, sewing and detail construction (25 hours)
4. Technologies: from fabrics to social networks. (50 hours)

As far as the learning process follow-up action there were several theoretical approaches included along with practical exercises in the different disciplines coursework, as next section will show.

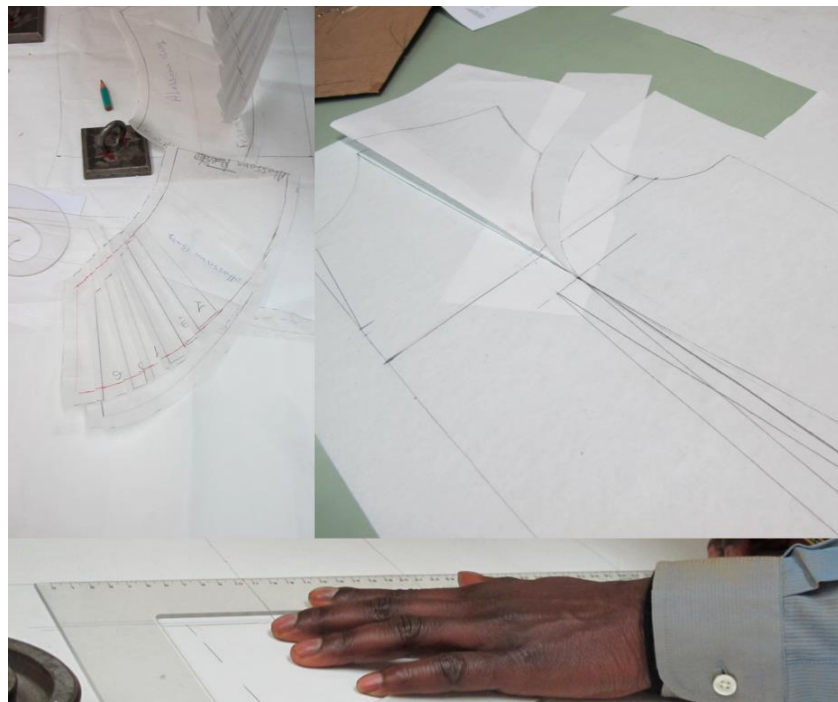


Figure 6. 2: Upgrading technical skills. Learning rigorous ways of measuring and drawing patterns during one of the training projects. Records from my practical work, MODATEX, Lisbon, 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

²²⁵ The School is located at Rua Prof. Reinaldo dos Santos, 8A.1500-505 Lisbon.

²²⁶ See Appendix C for further information on the program's main courses.



Figure 6.3: Creative moodboard developed by one tailor during EPAT. Records from my practical work, MODATEX, Lisbon, 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.



Figure 6.4: Tailors-students working together in class in a collaborative learning process sharing understanding of pattern-making techniques. Records from my practical work, MODATEX, Lisbon, 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

6.3.1 Guidelines for the training

Having in mind the three capulana's cultural concepts, the EPAT training course intended to provide both technical and theoretical means to empower tailors' professional skills, and in a 'tailor-made' way satisfying the personal needs of each tailor.

Because the teachers at Modatex were participating in such 'special' program I gave them some fundamental guidelines where shared. The program should be developed using both theoretical disciplines and skill sets simultaneously within a shared cultural context. In that way both formal and informal education were integrated and could be analysed as such.

To assure the effectiveness of the chosen pedagogical approach, knowledge transfer should be constantly contextualized at each learning phase according to every student's cultural background, and carried out collaboratively (co-designed) through a constructive process in which tailors played an active role, such as in determining the requirements. Presented by the tailors at the beginning of the program, these requirements aimed to: improve the capacity to express their own creative ideas and their affectivity with the capulana and African cloths in general; become more rigorous in the production of clothing specially concerning actual draping and certain upgrading finishing / trimming techniques; and finally, learn how to build a European-style classic tailor jacket with emphasis on lining patterning, while refining finishing techniques such as top-stitching, facing and two-face sleeves.

By using an approach that contextually refers to each tailor-student background the team of teachers had to be able to provide them (the tailors) with the opportunity to actively engage in their own learning process by simultaneously sharing the specificities of theoretical and technical skills in content-based subjects, taking into account the information about the multiple particularities of each cultural context. As holds for a workshop, "The spoken word seems more effective than written instructions." (Sennett, 2008: 179). Because I intended to stimulate a peer-to-peer dialogue between the teacher's team and the tailors whenever a procedure became difficult, tailors should share and discuss the topic among themselves and with the teachers. Furthermore, every context-based exercise must be carefully transmitted in such a way as to ensure students'

reflection, challenge and questioning, pro-actively in a Slow-fashion process. At the end these were fundamental aspects to take in account when analysing the outcome of the different learning phases of the EPAT's coursework as described in the following paragraphs.

1) Creative challenges

I started this program becoming one of the teacher's team. The exercise was called 'creative challenges'. The subject started with a practical exercise in creativity where tailors were asked to draw a piece of clothing that they would have to produce later in another class. As the facilitator for this class, I challenged tailors-students to freely explore their notions of drawing, colour and textures,

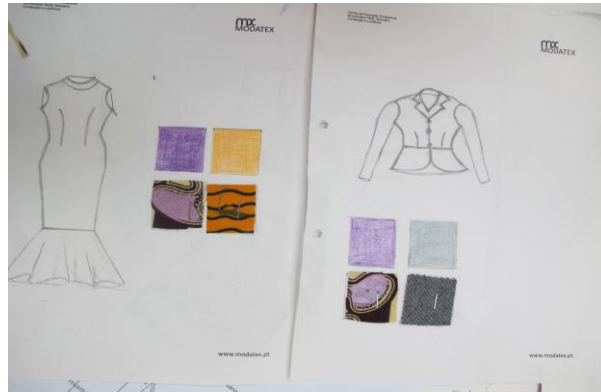


Figure 6.5: Creative drawings from one of the tailors-students. Records from my practical work, Modatex, Lisbon, 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

both technically and creatively. Here, my mission was to guide them throughout their learning experience and the act of discovery from within it (like in Mayer, 2004: 16) while facilitating their exercise both by showing them some examples of technical renderings and giving them some tools for their projects, like a body-base for fashion drawings and an assortment of

coloured pastels. The final results of this first course set the basis for the following courses in pattern making, cutting, and sewing. At this phase textiles were also selected, and we discussed the affectivity with capulana and African cloths in general and how this type of textiles could define or not their cultural affiliation and identity as Africans. At the end all tailors except one used capulana on this exercise.

2) Flat Pattern Cutting Upgrade

In this module, the Modatex teacher started the work with an introduction to construction and transformation of basic pattern cuttings (for example skirt, trousers, body). Then we moved on to the assignment of building a classic



Figure 6.6: Creative drawings from one of the tailors-students. Records from my practical work, Modatex, Lisbon, 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

women's jacket (as suggested by the students). A demonstrative method was applied where tailors were given a worksheet to follow through a specific practical exercise by repeating the indicated steps thoroughly while teachers guided the projects through its complete solution. That way again with Mayer (idem:

18), 'learning by thinking' processes based on students were actually able to get both a personal analysis and a visual memory of the exercise. During the exercises, some tailors collaborated with each other shared knowhows to find the

best way to achieve the assignment's goals (see Fig. 6.4.). Whenever a more complete and deeper understanding was needed they also asked teachers for guidance.



Figure 6.7: Examples of creative drawings from one of the tailors-students. Records from my practical work, Modatex, Lisbon, 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho



Figure 6.8: Tailors-students learning how to make Western-style patterns. Records from my practical work, Modatex, Lisbon, 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

3)Empowerment skills: cutting flat pattern and sewing

Like in the previous courses, this one started with a basic introduction to manual and mechanical cutting as well as to essential sewing techniques which practical application allowed students to get familiarized with specific cutting tools and machines.

Again, it was applied a demonstrative method, where students were given a worksheet to follow. However, because the majority of the students showed stronger abilities and knowledge in this kind of matter, Modatex teachers choose to focus the class' attention on improving the sense of



rigor and precision necessary to perfect finishing techniques on garments the being built. The goal was nonetheless to foster adaptability from both sides of the learning team and to enhance peer-to-peer dialogues about tailoring techniques in general.

Figure 6.9: Tailors-students learning how to make Western-style patterns. Records from my practical work, Modatex, Lisbon, 2012. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

As said earlier, the program's methodology conformed to Fuad-Luke's (2009: 176) 'mutual learning between the stakeholders/actors', Modatex teachers then adapted their technical language to better fit the tailors-students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This way, it was decided to rather use the empirical ways of measuring (such as folding fabric, hand spans, measuring tape) already known by tailors-students instead of forcing them to strictly follow the conventional Western technical rules. Similarly, other alternative tactics were used by teachers to explain certain fundamental meanings to the tailors-students who hardly understood Portuguese, presenting their explanations by visual examples rather than by using written text supports. On this process the team could achieve co-learning. In one side, students can learn new technical skills, develop new creative and aesthetic assessment technics and empowerment; and on the other side, trainers can learn how to feel the cloth, enhance the right affectivity towards the actual experience of working (with) the African fabrics and how to overcome the fear of failing in cutting the pattern.



Figure 6.10: Tailors-students learning how to make Western-style patterns. Records from my practical work, Modatex, Lisbon, 2012. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.



Figure 6.11: Tailors-students exercising cutting flat patterns. Records from my practical work, Modatex, Lisbon, 2012. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho



Figure 6.12: Tailors-students working in the sewing classes. Records from my practical work, Modatex, Lisbon, 2012. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho



Figure 6.13: Working and discussing together during a Material Technology class. Records from my practical work, Modatex, Lisbon, 2012. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

3) Technologies: from fabrics to social networks

For this fourth and last module two main complementary subjects were introduced: Textile Technology and Information Technology. The former focused on identifying, distinguishing and classifying the different existing textile fibres, while the latter was focused on very basic informatics knowledge like setting up an email account and a Facebook page.

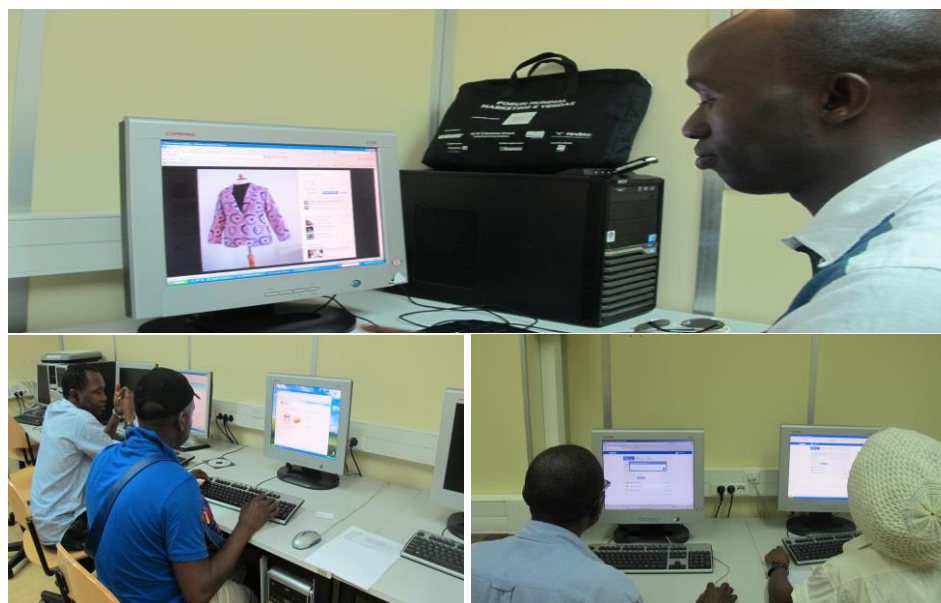


Figure 6.14: Tailors-students at the informatics class. Records from our practical work, Modatex, Lisbon, 2012. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

6.4. Evaluation of the training program

For thorough insights of the results of the training program and to evaluate the modules questionnaires were handed out at the last session (see Appendix A), The Tables 6.1 to 6.8 below show the results.

Table 6.1: 'Introduction to Drawing' Module Evaluation

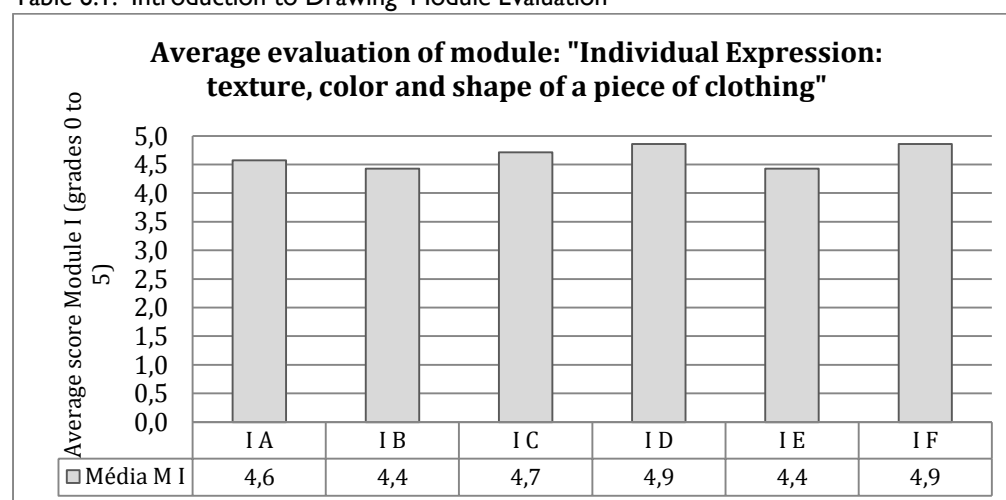


Table 6.2: 'Introduction to Pattern Cutting' Module Evaluation

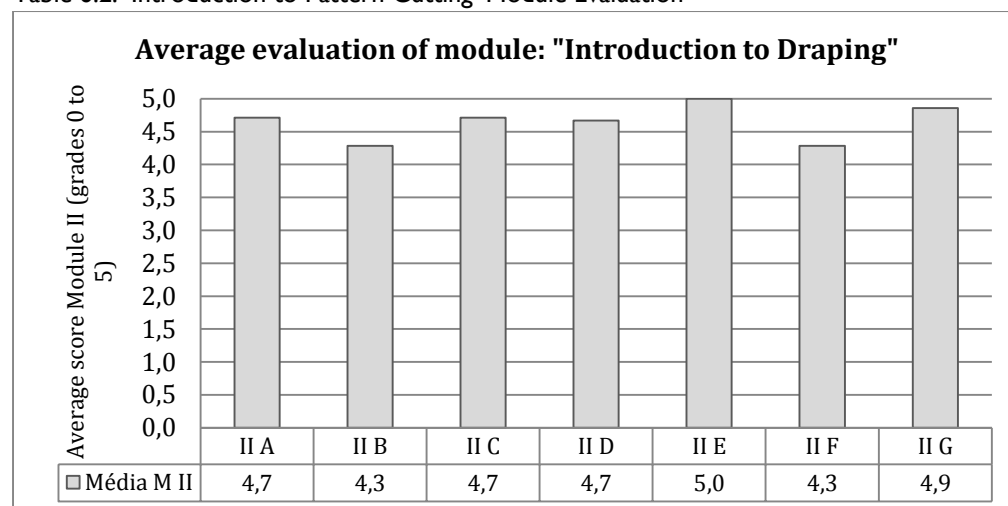


Table 6.3: 'Dress Pattern Cutting' Module Evaluation

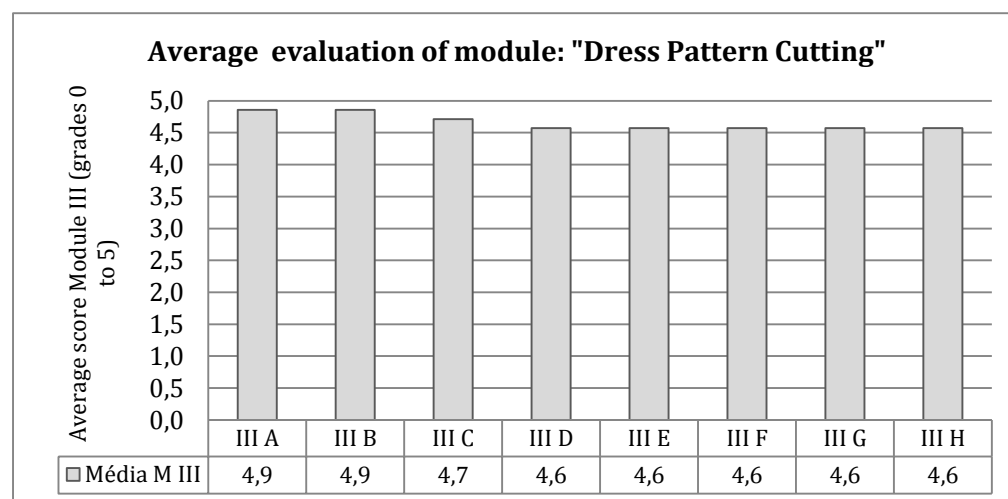


Table 6.4: 'Cutting' Module Evaluation

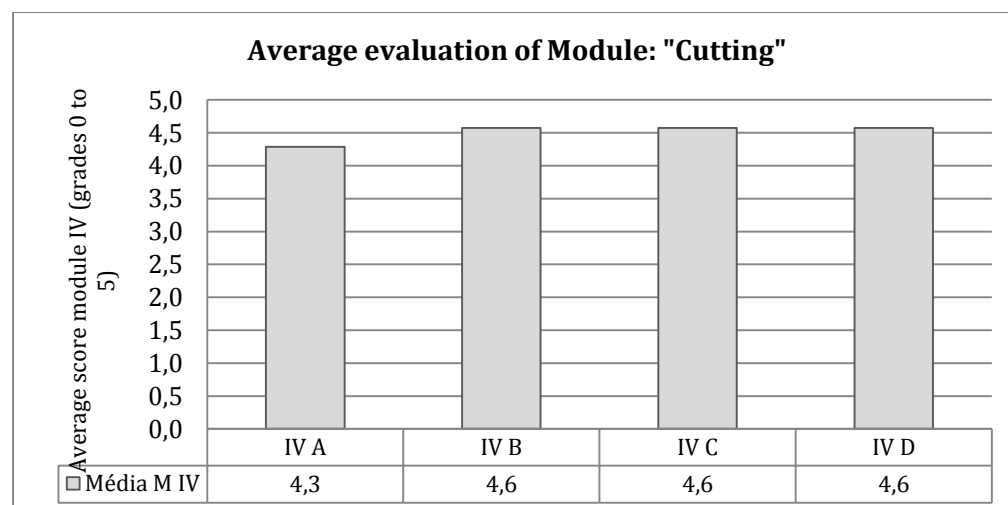


Table 6.5: 'Sewing' Module Evaluation

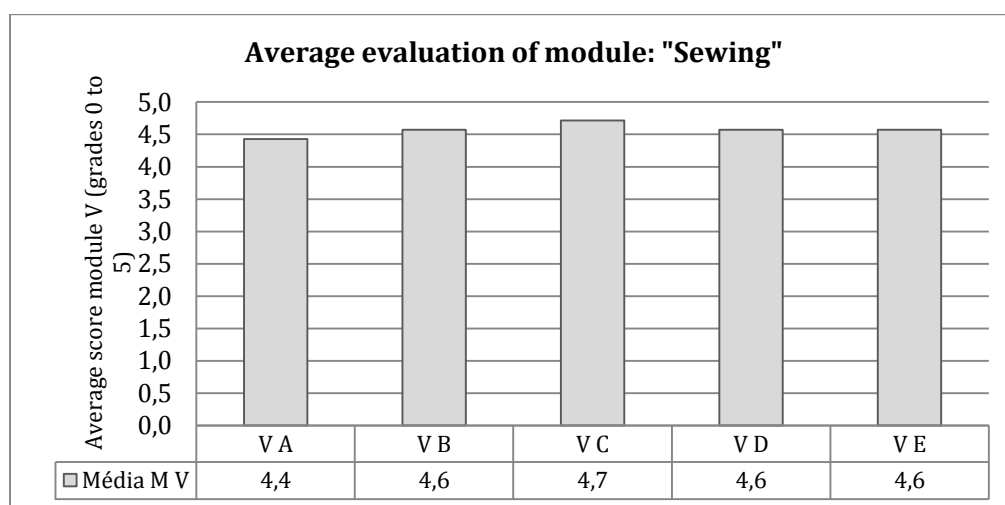


Table 6.6: 'Introduction to Textile Technology' Module Evaluation

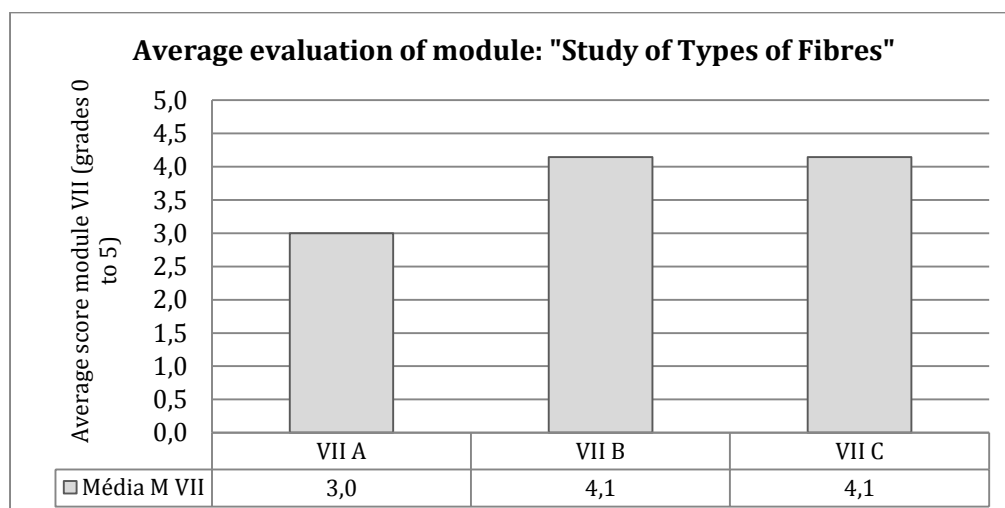


Table 6.7: 'Informatics' Module Evaluation

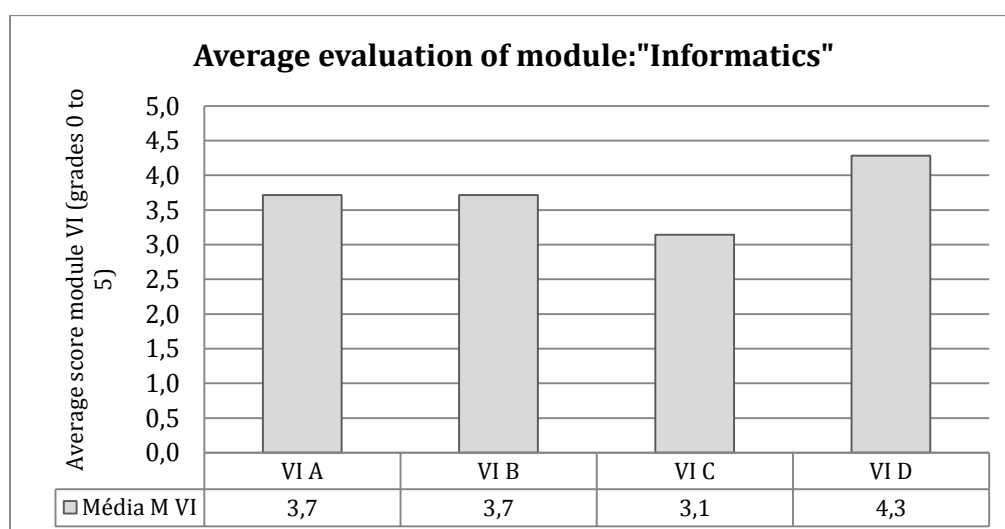
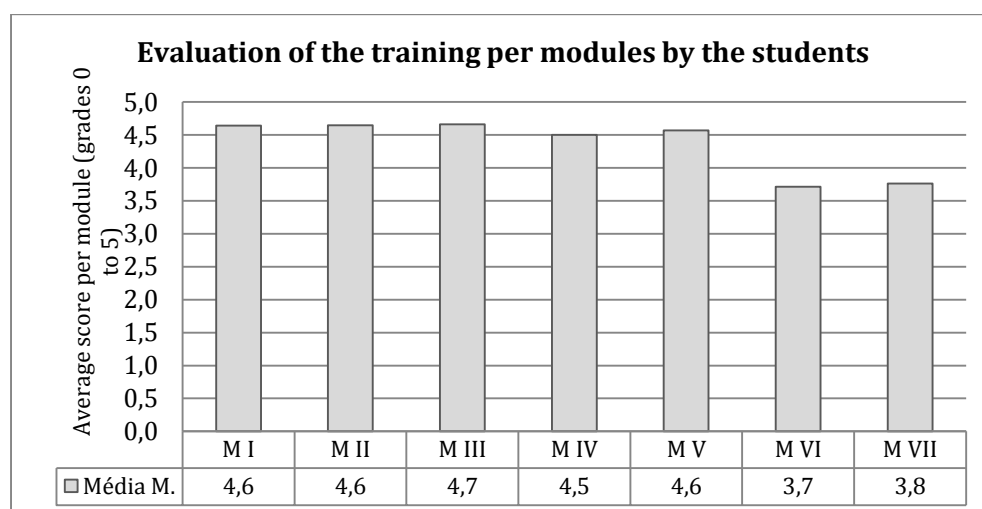


Table 6.8: Final evaluation of the training program done by the students



Students give in all sub-modules (1=very poor to 5=very good) average grades above 4.3 out of 5. Even if some data entries were left blank (by students who forgot to answer that particular question) the results indicate that concerning the specific modules on informatics and textile technology, they gave lower scores, varying between 3.0 and 3.7. Although still positive, they are lower than those for the other modules. Hence, the subjects of the course in which students demonstrated bigger difficulties to assimilate, were: Facebook basic notions; computer skills; and understanding of different textile fibres. Since these are very specific subjects that imply new experiences and higher levels of knowledge it was not surprising to observe less ability to understand. In fact, students had referred before this final evaluation that they felt the need to have more training hours, particularly regarding the course-module on informatics and the sub-module on textile technology. Nevertheless, at the end the results were overall positive with a final average score calculated on each student's own evaluation of the training to be of 4.4.

In order to draw an analysis of the potential influence of the training program on the tailors-students personal and professional lives, four more questions were introduced to the final assessment questionnaire as follows:

1. In general terms how do you consider your knowledge progression on how to produce a piece of clothing?
2. In your real life, what is your level of satisfaction about your profession since you started attending this program?
3. How would you grade this program?
4. What is the level of impact that this program had on your inclusion in the professional job market and citizenship application process?

The average result of the answers to these questions was higher than 4.1 indicating that the program actually brought tailors a certain achievement whether at a personal level (like self-esteem and pride in being a tailor) or in their professional lives by motivating the creation of new job positions for these tailors. As far as the final evaluation given by the students, the score for the entire program was 5 out of 5, meaning excellent. The lowest grades were given to question 2 since tailors/students' degree of (dis-)satisfaction is related with their generally precarious living conditions that rarely allow them to have their own sewing machine or a computer outside school's facilities. This lack of basic tools and resources is particularly relevant since students need to continue practicing at home whatever they have learnt at school.

Other findings concerning each discipline in particular

The program was considered by the students to be highly important for developing knowledge previously acquired from their own experience as tailors. They felt more at ease in learning new technical content-based information in the program majors in which they already had some practical knowledge in.

Regarding the content of the course, pattern cutting was the main discipline, fifteen hours in total. It was the most difficult part for the tailors, because they were not used to develop patterns with such rigorous geometric and mathematic rules. Tailors used to cut directly in the cloth, and they do not follow the method of pattern cutting, using a previous pattern made with paper. In the course we introduced a new technique for tailors. They showed difficulties with pattern's construction, rules implying technical rigor that include mathematics and basic knowledge in geometric forms as angles, parallels and perpendiculars. They also demonstrated to be unfamiliar in using basic torso to create three-dimensional forms or to better understand a pattern. They showed several difficulties with rotation exercises of armhole and waist darts.

But gradually tailors started to understand and the Modatex teacher made an effort to explain such methods in a way that they could better understand. Here is an example of how the course developed:

According to Western school traditions the teacher uses a paper pattern as a cutting basis on the fabric. Because the tailors didn't understand, the teacher and I therefore reformulated the modelling program. She had to develop a way of doing patterns all by letting deeper arithmetic rules aside. In the end, she approached the question backwards: presenting final formulas first, asking the tailors to develop them on the pattern cutting. Furthermore, angles - for example - were not presented as numeric numbers anymore, but as image by means of examples (more precise even: photos, patterns in different development phases, parts of cloths). The teacher showed how and in which steps the patterns were constructed.

The use of technical rules was another difficulty in the beginning. But tailors increasingly started to use and understand the potentiality of such rules and gradually abandoned their traditional measure-tape and other empirical methods of measurements, like folding fabric and hand spans. They, of course, showed different ways and methods to obtain a least similar result. Tailors demonstrated serious difficulty in understanding theory about textiles. It was too theoretical for them who lack schooling. They had many difficulties in writing and developing a dialogue about different fibres. Mainly they understood cotton and the other natural fibres, which were the most familiar for them.

Informatics was a great motivation for all tailors. Initial basic learning about this discipline enabled tailors to have an email and Facebook account; this last one contributed enormously to communicating worldwide and specially with people from their home country.

The importance of appropriation in this course was expressed in several ways: a group facilitator emerged naturally from the tailors, who could explain a certain exercise that was not understood at first, in Fulah, a West African language used by most of the tailors attending the workshop. Many sessions were recorded using photography and video. Gradually, tailors also participated in these records, starting to record and show what they wanted to be visible and the way they wanted to be represented. The fact that many times the tailors-students were proposing certain subjects to be added to the curriculum, telling us what exactly they would like to learn more about, was also important for this interacting process. As part of this collaborative approach and of the action research aims I monitored tailors' learning.

A peer-to-peer dialogue was stimulated as was already announced in my methodology for the course. So, whenever a procedure became difficult, tailors shared and discussed the topic among themselves and with the teachers. At other moments the teachers intervened in the process in order to provide task assistance or to increase students' interpersonal and group skills.

6.5. Results' Analysis and Conclusive Factors of Success

Having in mind my sub-question (2) how can tailoring be re-appropriated by a 'formal' education system in order to upgrade knowledge and skills of African tailors in Lisbon?

The findings of the training program for African immigrant tailors in Lisbon support the assumption that the implementation of a experiential co-learning training programs (teacher and students collaborate in learning) can empower tailors with a richer and more accurate knowledge among ways of tailoring, whilst enhancing their sense of belongingness and affectivity to their own differentiated cultural background and awareness of the community's identity, improve livelihood and social equity. This program's curriculum has proved to enhance the utmost value of a collaborative learning process model, since it has been giving students the opportunity to find a relational space²²⁷ to firmly develop an innovative type of knowledge that results from the symbiosis of their previous knowledge from their own tailoring experience and this Western-based "technical knowledge" newly learnt at Modatex trade school.

Contrary to traditional 'development' strategies collaborative learning approaches are also efficient in terms of empowerment, hope, personal and skill development, and replicable for future local applications, focusing on reducing poverty through the generation of trade and educational opportunities for marginalized communities and their micro-producers. The entire process has illuminated the productive exchange of deeper values articulated at the cognitive levels of identity and self-representation together with an economic sustainability that delivers human development, higher quality production in the daily activities at the workshop and social transformation.

Further evaluation of the course's aims and objectives shows a strengthening of technical knowledge.

The conclusion of the course made it possible for me to understand and summarize the situation about knowledge growth and transfer that grows with EPAT experience. The diagram (Figure 6.15) presents the main stakeholders involved and the knowledge transfer levels between them:

- Path 1 characterizes knowledge transfer that derives from learning systems, the informal one (the one tailors bring with them) and the formal one based on culture (the one introduced and developed during EPAT). In this case tailors received knowledge from both systems.
- Path 2 indicates knowledge transfer that comes from tailors, the knowledge they share at EPAT and the knowledge they apply and transfer to the other colleagues or when returning in Africa after EPAT and in their workshops in Lisbon.

²²⁷ By this we mean the presence of an emotional, human *space* within which everyone involved in the program – tailors-students, teacher and researcher-facilitator – developed their relationship, pedagogically. But also, in an experiential sense, the space of the classroom itself, where this *relational space* implies the physical, and cognitive, interaction of the students with the actual working materials – the drafting tables; the rulers and craft-paper for pattern-making; the special machinery and the textiles– all newly acquainted with this learning. With this process we were able to apply another cultural concept of the *capulana* cloth, which is affectivity.

- Path 3 is the knowledge that comes from ‘real situations’ as the knowledge shared with the users (because the development of a garment is always a sharing dialogue with the tailor and the client) or from the production in their workshops (as making garments is always a process of learning). This type of knowledge also has its reflection on informal and formal systems, because tailors bring it in and dialogue about it during the sessions.
- Path 4 is the synthesis of the three aforementioned types of knowledge transfer. It also highlights that a link between EPAT and informal education originated a kind of third space of knowledge production and transfer. It was observed that tailors apply and develop this third space in their real contexts of production.

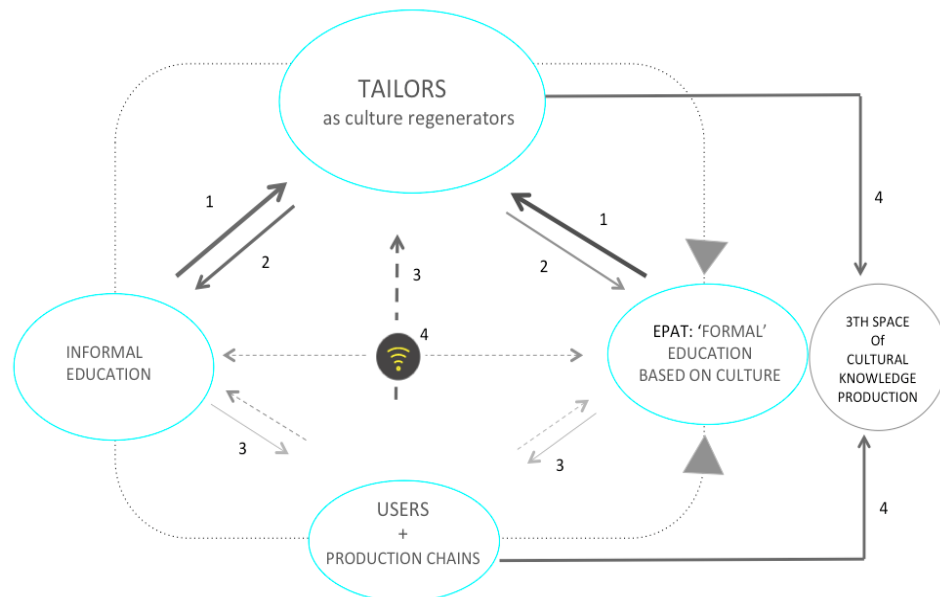


Figure 6.15: Constructivist-based socio-pedagogical approach

In this diagram, I used lines in different shapes to identify the intensity of the shared knowledge. Analysing the diagram dark grey lines indicates a type of knowledge that comes from the master tailors (during informal learning) or from the teachers (at EPAT – formal learning). Regarding tailors sharing knowledge, I observed that it was more intense in informal education systems than in EPAT. Even though they have shared cultural knowledge during EPAT, the objective was to empower their technical knowledge in a cultural context, so that they could make it grow in their real contexts (in their workshops and with the other tailors’ apprentices or colleagues). The dashed line (path 3) is greyer than the other two from the same path, because the shared knowledge by users during production (in real tailors’ contexts) is assimilated directly by the tailor and so is stronger than the one that arrives (with tailors) at both referred systems. Path 4 is very important for analysis, as I will explain it in-depth. Drawing on Kanu, the classroom became “...a ‘third space’ which recognizes the heterogeneous base of useful knowledge and the need to find abiding links that connect African knowledge and values to the knowledge and values entailed in Western education” (2007: 78). But it was outside the school that tailors increased this third space for knowledge production, by mixing techniques learnt at EPAT with their ‘own’ techniques. For example, some tailors told me that to develop a jacket, they only use the sleeve pattern that was made at the school, because it has a perfect head-sleeve while they cut the rest of the jacket still directly on the fabric without the aid of patterns.

Develop social equity – The general positive results of the entire program considering it to be of the utmost importance for the community of African tailors' continuing education and accreditation are likely to contribute as a valuable asset for their professional integration and social inclusion within the Portuguese, if not any other European, fashion industry job market. Good results were obtained at a legalization level once three of the tailors obtained permission to stay in the country (for the one-year duration of the program), one of them obtained Portuguese citizenship, another one was able to get a work contract that helped him to regularize his authorization of residence in Lisbon. Another tailor is since February 2014 working with a Fashion designer in Hamburg, and has since 2017 his legal status there. The EPAT has also become the start-up of an extended action that includes a parallel business platform that I founded in 2014 called 'AAA: Atelier Alfaiates Africanos' (i.e. African Tailors Atelier)²²⁸. Although in its beginning stage, noteworthy of its potential this project employs since 2014 two of the tailors and has received very positive insights. Further developments are expected from 2018 onwards.



Figure 6.16: Dress made by one of the tailors-students as a final result of his coursework project and later shown on ParQ Fashion Magazine edition, nr 43, Year VI, October 2014. Online link: <http://www.parqmag.com/?p=35298>.

²²⁸ This platform is a multi-level working space meant for tailors to be able to provide tailoring services, improve their own technical and creative skills, as well as developing a specific network of customers, suppliers and other stakeholders interested in African Fashion, African fabrics, Slow-fashion and clothing production.

To reinforce identity building – In general, the entire process herein embedded in this action-model has illuminated the productive exchange of deeper values articulated at the cognitive levels of identity and self-representation. Taking into account my previously formulated definition of identity, 'Identity consists of people's answers to the question: This is who I am', results of this process were positive and show the importance of clothing as a site for contesting and articulating identity. During the creative Slow-fashion processes all tailors used capulana or other African textiles to construct and affirm their sense of being African. Also, the African textiles were frequently used in their working context. They showed to be affectively linked to capulana.

Improve livelihood – Media coverage and broadcasting (magazines and TV programs, respectively) gave visibility to the tailors (and to my research-project associated with it), enlarging the audience range and the three tailors that works at Centro Comercial Habib had more demands for clothing services after media coverage. Their families in Africa also had benefit from this budget increase.



O Músico

Subir bainhas, apertar calças, mudar fechos ou virar colarinhos são alguns dos arranjos preferidos do alfaiate de 42 anos. Ao lado do seu ateliê, no Centro Comercial Habib, na Avenida Almirante Reis, em Lisboa, o tempo parece ter congelado à porta do barbeiro Kumba Yalá, ex-Presidente da República da Guiné-Bissau, foi um dos clientes que DJIBY DJIBSON teve, antes de deixar a sua terra natal, em 2000. Viajado e cosmopolita, aprendeu o ofício da costura no Senegal, há mais de duas décadas. Na Expo Hannover, cantou e tocou guitarra elétrica, a convite do Governo guineense

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Figure 6.17: Sample of an article done by Visão Magazine, Lisbon, 8th March de 2013, available online: <http://visao.sapo.pt/os-alfaiates-africanos-em-lisboa=f716762>



Figure 6.18: Tailor being interviewed for the National TV Channel SIC. Full piece available online: <http://sicnoticias.sapo.pt/economia/2013-03-10-alfaiates-africanos-em-lisboa-dizem-se-influenciados-pela-moda-europeia>



Figure 6.19: Fashion Show 'AAA: Atelier Alfaiates Africanos' at MODAAFRICA²²⁹ 2015, 18th July, Tecnico Lisbon. Photography by José Correia.

²²⁹ MODAAFRICA'15 is the Eth(n)ical Fashion Week, an event developed by AMA: Associação de Moda Africa (i.e. Africa Fashion Association), founded by me in 2014. The event aims to be a cross-cultural fashion event founded on the greater principles of the alternative sustainable movement here applied to the realm of emergent African fashion designers whose works give primacy to developing collections made from natural materials and resources, while mirroring important traditional features of their country of origin, thus a greater contributing foundation to the fabric and visibility of the cultural identity of each participating country.

Chapter 7 Capulanar: A Co-creative Formative Action and Discourse around Capulana

7.1. Introduction

Coolhunting took my research to grasp capulana is remarkable presence all throughout the capital. Visual and economical capulana has become a synonym of Mozambiqueness moreover meaning a strong embodied sense of national identity that is printed on the actual cloth. Thus becoming a metaphor of belongingness to a longlasting culture and its material traditions. Whether in its traditional form fitting the body with its loose drape or turning it to contemporaneous silhouettes like tailored-fit inspired by western models, capulana's strong resilient presence is still commonly regarded as a symbol of a well-grounded yet "moving" tradition. The powerfulness of this drape has become more and more evident in the way it reflects and adorns each and every change of Mozambican identity. In all symbolical social, cultural, economic and even political dimensions, the intrinsic historic value of the capulana attests to a constant and continuous transformation that has made this cloth into an instrument of identity construction of Mozambican women²³⁰. Despite its strong traditions root Mozambican identity, demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3, younger generations of women, are questioning the actual purpose and meaning of wearing capulana²³¹. Above all, they question the traditional way the cloth is still conventionally worn. In reponse, the supply of tailored - fit dresses and other traditional clothing made of capulana has risen²³² along with the ascertainment of being "African modern"²³³. Apparently this also fits in the generation gap. The empowering draped cloth has met restrictive limitations in its own original material (uncut) form for wrapping (rather than fitting) the body silhouette, and for that reason it's not as fashionably appreciated by younger generations as a pair of blue denim jeans or even a Western-like-cut capulana dress.

The reinvention of capulana is a reflection of a modern youth, and it apparently mirrors a re-creative phenomenon still more or less affected by asymmetries generated by post-colonial contexts. At this point, I became especially attentive to the way Mozambican designers are (re)using traditional capulanas to convey both commercially and ideologically to a sense of 'Mozambiqueness' aesthetics (see section 3.2.2) . Soon I wondered: How can the traditional way of wearing capulana – as a rectangle of fabric – be updated?

Two main empirical explorations were reformulated and came to frame possible answers to this question: (1) the cultural concepts associated with capulana may be the key to apply what is known today as D4S, and (2) an experimental creative

²³⁰ See among other authors: Yahya–Othman, 1997; Picton, 1995; Parkin, 2004; McCurdy, 2006; Hamid, 1996; Linnebuhr, 1989; Fair, 2004; Beck, 1997, 2000, 2001. Also for the Mozambique case see: Arnfred, 2010; Arnfred & Meneses, 2015; Spring, 2012, Torcado & Rolleta, 2004; Zimba, 2012.

²³¹ Interview to a tailor from Senegal resident in Maputo for 8 years.

²³² Western fashions, and its dynamic silhouettes, became far more prevalent and popular among Mozambican youth than the uncut traditional *capulana* nowadays seemingly pushed back to its folk-roots since commonly considered by youngsters as old school or, if mandatory, only occasionally worn as ceremonial Dress.

²³³ In her 2004 work "Putting on a *pano* and dancing like our grandparents: Nation and dress in late colonial Luanda", Moorman alludes to the fact that in Africa the "May of 68" brought this uniquely global notion of being 'modern' based on the construction of the image of the West reinterpreted by the African style. This practice was enhanced throughout the decades and today the *African Modern* is depicted by a unique style revisited by precepts intrinsic to *Being African*, now built upon the originality of mixing local and international clothing, thus proclaiming (even in a rather more political sense) the cosmopolitanism of *Mozambiqueness*.

process based on drapping technique might likely be the theoretical and practical path to revive a way of thinking and working with capulana having tradition as its starting point.

My second case study, introduces, describes and discusses Capulanar²³⁴. A specific set of Co-design training actions developed in Lisbon, within a group of Young African Women around the making-off new forms of draping capulanas differently. The challenge was to reintroduce this cloth as a contemporary idiosyncratic piece of African sartorial and enquire how the traditional ways of draping and wearing capulana can be redefined (renovated, updated/modernized) through new collaborative design processes, while conveying to Mozambican younger generations renewed sense of identity and cultural vitality²³⁵. Capulanar was a hand-on co-creative lab meant to challenge a group of participants to respond to the emergence of new contemporary fashion-able and sustainable Fashion Design practices. With Capulanar, I could also explore how D4S can support the idea of a single design solely based on an uncut capulana be transformed into multiple draped-wrapped wardrobe's worth of options. Capulanar was in fact, the third initiative preceded by one other happening in Maputo was the workshop 'what's your Dress ID?' and the second, happening in Covilhã, Portugal, with a group of fashion design students²³⁶. Both Maputo and Covilhã's co-creative laboratories grounded and contextualized case study 2 to agree with the core-values and features within capulana.

7.2. Project's Background and Contextualization

One day during my field study in Maputo (May 2011), I saw a girl wearing capulana in a very expiring draping style (see figure 3.21) portraying, at least in my D4S perspective, the evidence of a modern African style, Mozambiqueness and fashion-ability. This observation was a kick-started for the first part of Capulanar. This girl's fashion-able modes, made me realize that young generations are actually looking for new forms of draping and wrapping traditional capulana, in an effort to better express what tradition means to them. Soon after, I was starting 'What's your Dress ID?' the first workshop undertaken during three days with a group of four young Mozambican fashion designers and one tailor²³⁷. In one of the three days, inspired by the draping (Figure 3.21), we started experimenting different draping techniques with a single uncut piece of capulana. We worked on searching for possible new forms of wrapping it while shaping it into a dress, a skirt, or a top²³⁸ form (see Figure 7.1). I assumed hereby, that an experimental design process based on the drapping technique might be a way to think about and make contemporary capulana draping forms without losing its unique traditional uncut point. The results of this preliminary workshop were an important inspiration to

²³⁴ Capulanar happened in Lisbon at my own atelier, with a group of 4 young African women (3 emergent African fashion designers and 1 emergent Mozambican artist), during three months from 25th July to 27th September 2013. The three designers were invited to join Capulanar after the workshop developed at the Portuguese University of Beira Interior (aka UBI, located in the country-town of Covilhã) and the other participant was invited after the Forums of Dialogue at the National Costume Museum.

²³⁵ Cultural vitality is on this work understood as the evidence of creating, disseminating and validating fashion and culture as a dimension of everyday life. It focuses not just on the artistic product but also on the creative process and specially the results of what comes out from the community when evolved in such project.

²³⁶ These 3 young fashion students are from different African countries, such as Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Cape Vert.

²³⁷ All the participants lived in Maputo and their age was between 20 and 40 years.

²³⁸ For more details about the workshop 'What is your dress ID?' in Maputo see the following link: <https://d4capulana.wordpress.com/2013/04/23/what-is-your-dress-id/>.

understand the full potentiality of draping technique to be applied in Capulanar, in Lisbon afterwards.



Figure 7.1: Two Mozambican designers exploring new forms of wearing capulanas in its original uncut form at the creative lab 'What's your Dress ID?' Maputo 2011. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

Following up with 'What's your Dress ID?' workshop developed in Maputo, I proposed another workshop at the Portuguese University of Beira Interior (aka UBI, located in Covilhã). After a paper presentation during a conference at UBI²³⁹, one of the Fashion program teachers in the audience invited me to give a workshop about capulanas and African Fashion. Gathering a group of ten students (both male and female, between 20 and 27 years old), the workshop took place on June 17th thru June 21st 2013 and it was called: 'Cross – cultural dialogues through a rectangle of textile: from Mozambique to Covilhã' ²⁴⁰.

Capulanar was born from the two first workshops (in Maputo and at UBI in Covilhã) later giving the name to the main workshop "Capulanar: Recreating your experience of Independence". Like the suffix "ing" in English gerund, in Portuguese

²³⁹ On 23th November 2012, I presented the article 'Mozambique's Capulana: an et(n)hical approach for Sustainable Fashion Design at the conference Designa'12 (more infos <http://www.designa.ubi.pt/en/2012>) hold at the University UBI, Covilhã.

²⁴⁰ See appendix I for a detailed description of this workshop and the following links: <https://d4capulana.wordpress.com/2013/06/18/workshop-cross-%C2%AD-cultural-dialogues-trough-a-rectangle-of-textile-from-mozambique-to-covilha/>; <https://d4capulana.wordpress.com/2013/06/20/workshop-cross-%C2%AD-cultural-dialogues-trough-a-rectangle-of-textile-from-mozambique-to-covilha-day-4/>; https://d4capulana.wordpress.com/2013/06/20/workshop-cross-%C2%AD-cultural-dialogues-trough-a-rectangle-of-textile-from-mozambique-to-covilha_-results/.

the character 'r' adds the verbal attribute of action to an original noun. The same way, 'Capular' means the action of working on and with capulanas. Eventually this significance became not only a source of intellectual reflection and design inspiration, but also a privileged tool for a hands-on D4S project.

7.3. The Capular Formative Project: From Dialogue to Practice

7.3.1 First Phase 'Forums of Dialogue' – Identity, Culture and Fashion

Capular was developed in two phases. Each phase had its specific goals and results. In a first phase, between June and July 2013, I promoted a series of three 'Forums of Dialogue' about Mozambican capulara at the National Costume Museum (aka MNT) in Lisbon. Participants came from a heterogeneous group of people (adult and young men and women) all of them with a cultural connection to the practices of wearing capulara. These forums were aimed to gain privileged knowledge about the cloth, and at anyone to share memories, the role this cloth played in their lives and nd draws their identity in the diaspora context. Meantime introducing the following formative project Capular.

Forums Selection Participants

Facing the need to find a very specific group of people to participate in these forums contacts were made to different institutional parties that might help such as: the immigrant associations; the Mozambique Embassy in Lisbon and several Mozambican cultural associations²⁴¹. In spite of my high expectations on these associations that work closely with the Mozambican community and, therefore, strategic partners to reach for and work with after all these contacts were proven ineffective for the Forum's participation call. Although some of the presidents of the associations showed interest in presenting my research's preliminary results at the community special events, after several months there was still no follow-up, nor a concise feedback to rely on. At this point, led to a halt I was getting very low results on obtaining the participating call. In need for a broader strategic approach, this apparent 'failure' made me re-evaluate the original planning and move forward to reach for the Mozambican community itself. Soon after I was attending different community festivals, special celebrations like Mozambique Independence Day, and many other cultural events regarding Mozambican culture. Realizing, face-to-face how fundamental are these occasions and cultural experiences for the actual construction of Mozambican identity. Often I preferred for a 'passive' participant field observation, attending events either as a guest or just as a curious passer-by. Later on direct observation notes were complemented with those from informal talks with people present at the events. For instance, five of them were travelling from Mozambique and another five Mozambican residents in Portugal and two Portuguese that had lived in Mozambique. Some more than others, all expressed pride in their roots and bounds, I asked them if and how they use/include capulara in their daily life? And what was the difference

²⁴¹ Contacts included: the 'Associação de Escritores Moçambicanos' (Association of Mozambican Writers), the 'Associação Portugal-Moçambique' (Association Portugal-Mozambique), the 'Associação de Estudantes de Moçambique - Núcleo de Lisboa (AEMOP-NL)' (Mozambique's Students Association – Lisbon's centre), the 'Associação Casa de Moçambique' (Association House of Mozambique); the 'Associação Centro Cultural Luso-Moçambicano' (Association Luso-Mozambican Cultural Centre) and, finally, the 'OMM: Organização da Mulher Moçambicana' (Mozambican Woman Organization).

between Mozambique and Portugal? I invited them to join my forums. But despite my enthusiasm in sharing their stories and the results of my research at the Forums, only three joined in. When the forums of dialogue went on-line via Facebook, I was able to get a much larger response. Three emergent African fashion designers ²⁴² I met at UBI join the forums and in the end we gather a total of 15 participants in each of the three sessions.



Figure 7.2: One of the young Mozambican female participants of the Forums of Dialogue. National Costume Museum (MNT), Lisbon, 2012. Photo by Sofia Vilarinho

²⁴² The students have different African origins, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Vert.

Forum Themathics

As stated conclusively after my fieldwork in Maputo, the phenomenon behind Westernization (here focused on clothing) has actually induced the rebirth of Mozambican national pride by bringing forward the importance of keeping cultural traditions of sartorial alive, while redefining a new dress identity in contemporary Maputo. Getting back to Lisbon, I might ask if these cultural traditions are alive. Each forum focused on different themes based on the area of privileged knowledge it was needed to target. The way participants used or use it as a symbol of their Mozambican identity, the way they remembered it and finally if they still incorporated it in daily life in the diaspora context. The first Forum focused on identity, the second on culture and the third one on fashion. The forums happened on June 21st, July 6th, and July 27th 2013 respectively. All Forums had the same layout, starting with an introductory contextualization about each theme. Followed by an invitation to participants to comment and share their knowledge and point of view on the issue concerned.



Figure 7.3: Poster of one of the three Forums of Dialogue held at the National Costume Museum in Lisbon, between June and July 2013. Photography of a young woman in (uncut) capulana Maputo fieldwork, 2011. By Sofia Vilarinho

Overall, from the 'Forums of dialogue' I could record that even if living in a diaspora context, the majority of Mozambicans keep having a strong connection to capulana wearing it as a symbol of cultural belongingness and national identity. Hence so emotionally bond to the traditional cloth. They have brought with them collections of capulanas to which, till this day, they continue adding more pieces. This habit is so cheered among the diaspora community that it is common either to ask family members or friends travelling to and from Mozambique to bring capulanas with them, or to buy it at African thematic fairs²⁴³ happening in or around Lisbon. All of the participants had contact with the cloth during childhood and they remembered the daily life situations where capulana was normally used. Fifty percent of the participants wear clothing made with capulanas and following up with trends. Many of them order new clothing from designers or African tailors from time to time.

²⁴³ Usually this thematic fairs happen during summer months and in the neighborhoods Martim Moniz and Intendente where African tailors 'ateliers' are situated (see the map in the Fig. 6.2)

The first aim of these Forums – gaining privileged knowledge about how capulana is used on the diaspora context – was totally fulfilled specially because the participants’ remarkable contribution helped me to reshape my initial insight in how younger generations relate to capulana and its tradition. Notably, I learnt that, mainly they wear it in private as in ceremonial events family festive occasions or as weekends’ official apparel. But for instance, some of these young women wear the capulana in public spaces as a way of affirming (maybe taking here a Black Power North American movement position) their Mozambican identity in diaspora contexts. The symbolic role of capulana is permanent.



Figure 7.4. A group of pictures depicting some of the different activities that took place at the 'Forums of Dialogue' at the MNT in Lisbon. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho

7.3.2 Project's Second phase – Negotiation: Hands-on Capulana: Work-In-Progress

“Tradition and fashion: must engage new generations to remain vital” (Akou, 2000: 133)

Mentioned before, the promising results obtained on the preliminary work in Maputo and at UBI triggered a potentially longer and in depth follow-up of the whole Capulanar's experience. On the aftermath of the 'Forums of dialogue', I realized that I could propose now a more extensive formative training program in which a Co-design class would explore the many possibilities of draping and tying a single capulana's rectangular fabric into new contemporary forms of fashionability.

From the first forum's larger group were invited three emergent African designers (from UBI) and another Mozambican creative young women I've met at the MNT's Forums to participate in the Capulanar workshop.

For this new workshop series the main intention was to give continuity – in Lisbon – to the successfully creative results obtained at the first two workshops (Maputo and UBI). This also meant having to negotiate and update the development of new forms of dressing capulana that, albeit adjusted to a younger, much more cosmopolitan generation of wearers, could nevertheless fairly

maintain the cultural concepts inherent to the traditional cloth ²⁴⁴ and to reintroduce this cloth as a contemporary idiosyncratic piece of African sartorial that promotes identity and cultural vitality to Mozambican young generations.

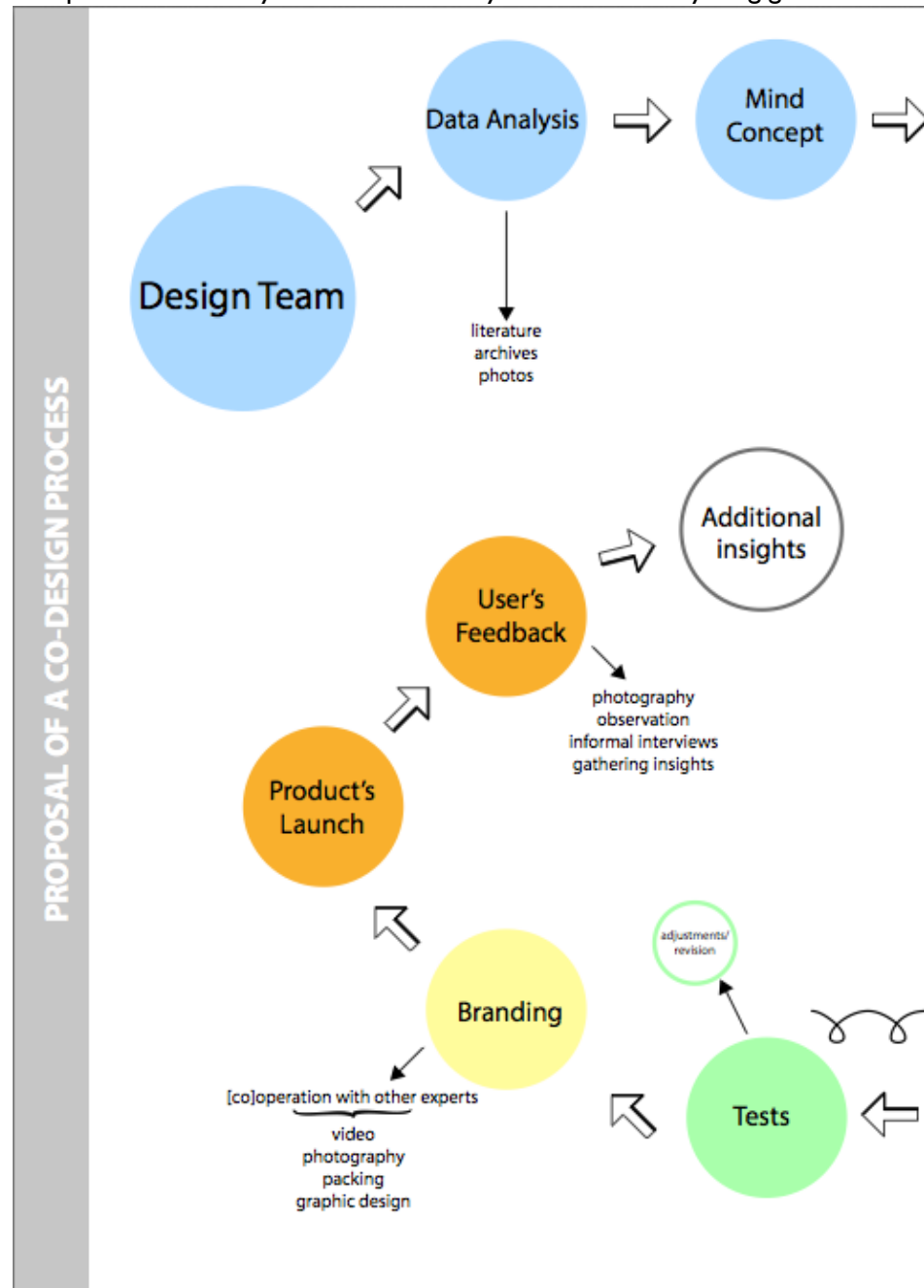
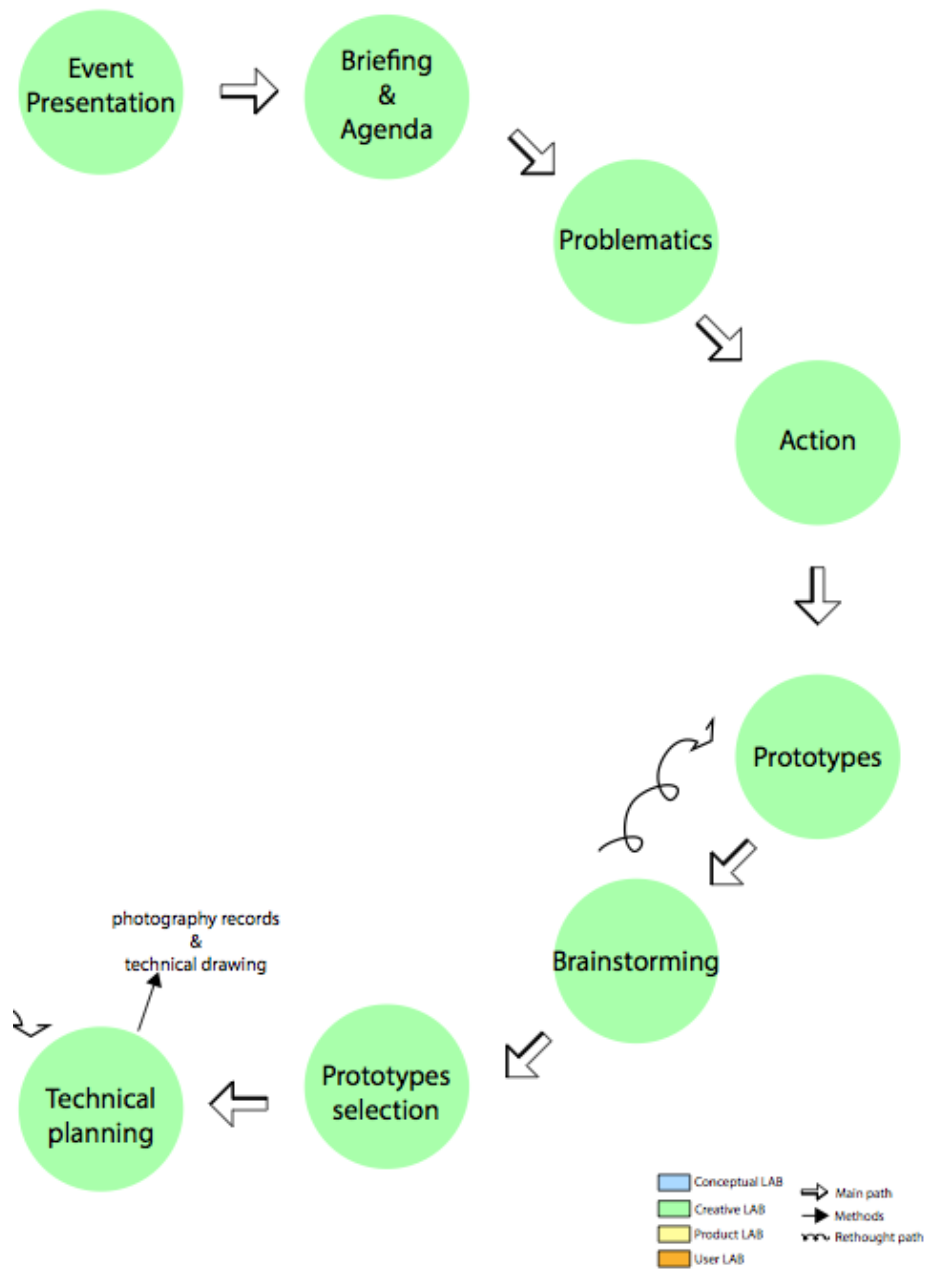


Figure 7.5: Capulanar Co-design Program Process Proposal and Framework.

²⁴⁴ See the introduction, (pre) definition and justification of these specific *concepts* behind *capulana*'s social and cultural heritage in Chapter 4.



Project's Effectiveness: Capulanar's Project Framework Development

Drawing on the Akan's concept of Sankofa (a 'return to the past to move forward'), I started with a reflection on the cultural concepts associated with capulana and discussed how to apply them to this second case study with the group of participants. Furthermore, understanding Bergeson's statement when recalling that 'Osborne, drawing on Ricoeur, also implies that there are negative effects on real improvements in society when traditionalism is regarded as a way of preserving rather than of gaining experience.' (2006: 56), the Capulanar workshop program presented itself as a formative/educational proposal which main goal was to search and find in capulana's material-cultural background diverse and, eventually, innovative solutions through the practical application of different design methods. Focusing on rendering 'fashion-able' new ways of dressing this rectangular cloth, it was my core mission to study how such Co-designing working process could possibly enable Slow-fashion and a new experience of wearing it and at the same time contributing to the Affection of the younger Mozambican generations for capulana. This option for a Co-design educational approach, had two main purposes: the first centred on gaining a privileged knowledge from one-one information about the perception and cultural practices around the use of the cloth; and the second one on minimizing biased judgements along the design process, thus using their CK.

For the greater success of this creative lab we used numerous research techniques. From analysis and observation of historical photography about capulana, to developing preliminary three-dimensional prototypes using the body of one of the participants; mind-maps; brainstorming; 'sticky-notes'; drawings; to large group discussions. Follow up evaluations of pros and cons of each design proposal allowed us to positively assess the core goals and outcomes of the project.

The series of Co-design work sessions made possible to establish a permanent creative and pro-active dialogue amongst participants that resulted in ten different outfits (see Fig. 5.35) made from one single capulana thus confirming my theoethical expectations behind capulana's sustainability. The choice of the 'collective creativity' (Sanders & Stappers, 2008), allowed me, as a researcher – designer, to set more coherent and unbiased results. Capulanar was thus like a space of mediation to map out the intangibilities intrinsic to the cloth's tradition like memories, history, life-stories, and cultural knowledge brought together thru a practical work process constructed on 4 specific steps: presentation, negotiation, effectiveness, and evaluation. As the following diagram (fig.7.5) demonstrates, the practical application of the project on a privileged field of cross-cultural knowledge research and creative experiential learning in which different individual and group activities gave room to explore and improve many important work skills, from analytical and creative to social and communicative.



Figure 7.6a: Pictures taken at the Capulanar workshop illustrating different phases of the creative working process. Lisbon 2013. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho



Figure 7.6b: Pictures taken at the Capulanar workshop illustrating different phases of the creative working process. Lisbon 2013. Photography by Sofia Vilarinho.

capulana[r]

recreating your experience of independence

capulana[r]
recreating your experience of independence

Capulana[r] revisita praticas culturais de vestir capulana e convida a novas perspectivas sobre construção da tua identidade e praticas de estilo. Fundamentado pelo zero desperdício, Capulana[r] torna-se o verbo que revela formas - outras - a partir de um retângulo de tecido que se molda para lá dos limites do corpo. Capulana[r] recria a tua experiência de independência.

Capulana[r] revisits cultural practices of dressing the typical Mozambican cloth Capulana, and invites to discover new perspectives on identity building and styling habits. With a zero-waste approach Capulana[r] turns into a verb of action, meaning to work new shapes and develop forms on the basis of a rectangular cloth draped around and beyond the limits of the body. Capulana[r] recreates your experience of independence.



| Design Concept
Sofia Vilarinho

| Design Team
Ermelinda Mandlaze
Plácida Mendes
Vanessa Monteiro

| Photography
Alípio Padilha

| Model
Hamarina Macuanja

		<div>Scarf-U</div> <div>Nível 1 / Level 1</div>	<div>Passo 1 / Step 1</div> <div>Capulana na horizontal Capulana horizontally</div>	<div>Passo 2 / Step 2</div> <div>Colocar a capulana sobre os ombros Place the capulana on the shoulders</div>	<div>Passo 3 / Step 3</div> <div>Nó / Knot</div>	<div>Passo 4 / Step 4</div> <div>Colocar um cinto Put a belt</div>	<div>Vista lateral / Side view</div>
		<div>Xi Ruffle</div> <div>Nível 1 / Level 1</div>	<div>Passo 1 / Step 1</div> <div>Capulana na horizontal Capulana horizontally</div>	<div>Passo 2 / Step 2</div> <div>Nó / Knot</div>	<div>Passo 3 / Step 3</div> <div>Face inferior para o peito Lower face to the chest</div>	<div>Vista de costas / Back view</div> <div>Nó / Knot</div>	<div>Vista frontal / Frontal view</div>
		<div>Hug Skirt</div> <div>Nível 1 / Level 1</div>	<div>Passo 1 / Step 1</div> <div>Capulana na horizontal Capulana horizontally</div>	<div>Passo 2 / Step 2</div> <div>Amarrar a capulana na sua cintura Tie the capulana around your waist</div>	<div>Passo 3 / Step 3</div> <div>Nó / Knot</div> <div>Puxar a ponta 4 e juntar ao nó já feito Pull the tip 4 and join to the knot already done</div>	<div>Passo 4 / Step 4</div> <div>Puxar igualmente a ponta 3 e juntar ao nó Also pull the tip 3 and join to the knot</div>	<div>Vista frontal / Frontal view</div>
		<div>Spin Vest</div> <div>Nível 1 / Level 1</div>	<div>Passo 1 / Step 1</div> <div>Capulana na horizontal Capulana horizontally</div>	<div>Passo 2 / Step 2</div> <div>Nó / Knot</div> <div>Unir a ponta 1 com a ponta 2 Join the tip 1 with the tip 2</div>	<div>Passo 3 / Step 3</div> <div>Unir as pontas 1 e 2, as pontas 3 e 4 Join the tips 1 and 2, to the tips 3 and 4</div>	<div>Passo 4 / Step 4</div> <div>Rodar a capulana Turn the capulana</div>	<div>Vista frontal / Frontal view</div>
		<div>Blossom her</div> <div>Nível 1 / Level 1</div>	<div>Passo 1 / Step 1</div> <div>Capulana na vertical / Capulana vertically</div>	<div>Passo 2 / Step 2</div> <div>Nó / Knot</div> <div>Unir a ponta 1 com a ponta 2 no peito Join the tip 1 with the tip 2 on the chest</div>	<div>Passo 3 / Step 3</div>	<div>Passo 4 / Step 4</div> <div>Subir a ponta 4 e dar nó com as pontas 1 e 2 Pull the tip 4 and do a knot with the tips 1 and 2</div>	<div>Vista frontal / Frontal view</div>

capulana(r)

recreating your experience of independence

capulana(r)
recreating your experience of independence

Capulana(r) revisita praticas culturais de vestir capulana e convida a novas perspectivas sobre construção da tua identidade e praticas de estilo. Fundamentado pelo zero desperdício, Capulana(r) torna-se o verbo que revela formas - outras - a partir de um rectângulo de tecido que se molda para lá dos limites do corpo. Capulana(r) recria a tua experiência de independência.

Capulana(r) revisits cultural practices of dressing the typical Mozambican cloth Capulana, and invites to discover new perspectives on identity building and styling habits. With a zero-waste approach Capulana(r) turns into a verb of action, meaning to work new shapes and develop forms on the basis of a rectangular cloth draped around and beyond the limits of the body. Capulana(r) recreates your experience of independence.



|Design Concept
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|Design Team
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Vanessa Monteiro

|Photography
Alipio Padilha

|Model
Hamarina Macuanja

		<div>Loop Tank Top</div> <div>Nível 2 / Level 2</div>	<div>Passo 1 / Step 1</div> <div>Capulana na horizontal Capulana horizontally</div>	<div>Passo 2 / Step 2</div>	<div>Passo 3 / Step 3</div> <div>Cruzar a capulana Cross the capulana</div>	<div>Passo 4 / Step 4</div> <div>Torcer as pontas da capulana Twist the ends of the capulana</div>	<div>Passo 5 / Step 5</div> <div>Prender a ponta 1 e 3 com o pin Hold the tip 1 and 3 with the pin</div>	<div>Vista frontal / Frontal view</div>
		<div>Flit Shoulder</div> <div>Nível 2 / Level 2</div>	<div>Passo 1 / Step 1</div> <div>Capulana na horizontal Capulana horizontally</div>	<div>Passo 2 / Step 2</div>	<div>Passo 3 / Step 3</div> <div>Nó / Knot</div> <div>Dar nó com as pontas 2 e 3 Tie the ends 2 and 3 and form a knot</div>	<div>Passo 4 / Step 4</div> <div>Colocar o nó no ombro e subir uma das faces do pano até ao peito Place the knot at the shoulder and rise one side of the capulana to the chest</div>	<div>Passo 5 / Step 5</div> <div>Dar nó nas pontas 1 e 4 Tie the ends 1 and 4 and form a knot</div>	<div>Vista frontal / Frontal view</div>
		<div>Short(s)Kirt</div> <div>Nível 2 / Level 2</div>	<div>Passo 1 / Step 1</div> <div>Capulana na vertical / Capulana vertically</div>	<div>Passo 2 / Step 2</div> <div>Nó / Knot</div> <div>Unir frontalmente a ponta 1 com a ponta 2 Unite frontally the tip 1 with the tip 2</div>	<div>Passo 3 / Step 3</div> <div>Puxar as pontas 3 e 4 por entre as pernas Pull the ends 3 and 4 through legs</div>	<div>Passo 4 / Step 4</div> <div>Puxar pontas 3 e 4 até à zona do peito Pull the ends 3 and 4 up to the area of the breast</div>	<div>Passo 5 / Step 5</div> <div>Baixar as pontas 3 e 4 Down the tips 3 and 4</div>	<div>Vista lateral / Side view</div> <div>Colocar um pin a segurar as pontas 3 e 4 Place a pin to hold the ends 3 and 4</div>
		<div>Pantaloon Her</div> <div>Nível 2 / Level 2</div>	<div>Passo 1 / Step 1</div> <div>Capulana na horizontal Capulana horizontally</div>	<div>Passo 2 / Step 2</div> <div>Colocar a capulana na cintura Put the capulana around the waist</div>	<div>Passo 3 / Step 3</div> <div>Juntar no centro frente as pontas 1 e 2 com o centro da aresta 3 e 4 - ponto y Join the ends 1 and 2 of the center front with the center of the edge 3 and 4 - point y</div>	<div>Passo 4 / Step 4</div> <div>Preencher a aresta da ponta 1 com um pin e repetir a ação com a ponta 2 Fill the edge of the tip 1 with a pin and repeat the action with the tip 2</div>	<div>Passo 5 / Step 5</div> <div>Ajeitar as pontas Straighten the tips</div>	<div>Vista frontal / Frontal view</div>
		<div>Roof Up Dress</div> <div>Nível 2 / Level 2</div>	<div>Passo 1 / Step 1</div> <div>Capulana na horizontal Capulana horizontally</div>	<div>Passo 2 / Step 2</div> <div>Passar a capulana por trás do corpo Pass the capulana behind the body</div>	<div>Passo 3 / Step 3</div> <div>Fixar a ponta 2 com a ajuda do braço Fasten the tip 2 with the help of the arm</div>	<div>Passo 4 / Step 4</div> <div>Torcer as pontas 1 e 3 Twist the ends 1 and 3</div>	<div>Passo 5 / Step 5</div> <div>Prender alça atrás com pin Hold back the strap with a pin</div>	<div>Vista frontal / Frontal view</div> <div>Subir ligeiramente o pano até à zona da cintura e com a ajuda do pin, formar um drapado de forma a fechar o vestido Rise slightly the capulana up to the waist and with the help of a pin, form a drape in order to close the</div>

Project's Presentation: Capulanar Practical Work Results

Capulanar was developed on two levels, each level proposing a different challenge for the most fashion-able co-design outcome.

For the first level challenge we used the original checker pattern capulana because it's one of the very early designs preserved till today. A checker capulana means Mozambiqueness directly associated with Mozambican broader sense of identity and tradition herein.

We decided to use the traditional checkered capulana measuring 1.10 × 1.90m draped, folded and wrapped into five different clothing proposals all in the same original checker pattern.

The second level involved even newer design strategies. Trainees had to build five more draping possibilities in different types of draping, hence growing the level of difficulty of the challenge. At the end, the creative lab produced a total of 10 draped-wrapped capulana outfit choices and there is a Capulanar KIT (levels 1 and 2) available in the market with detailed step-by-step instructions online video and booklet.

We found names to each piece of clothing:

Level 1: Scarf -U (cachecol); Xi Ruffle (top); Hug Skirt (skirt); Spin Vest (colete); Blossom Her (dress).

Level 2: Loop Tank Top (top frou-frou); Flit Shoulder (top one shoulder); Short(s)Kirt (skirt shorts), Pantallon Her (trousers); Rool Up Dress (twisted dress)

The workshop experience and its promising results were recorded and later posted online in a platform specially designed for sharing the group's and individual contributions, interpretations, perspectives, appropriations and feedback / input from its members. Facebook²⁴⁵ and Wordpress²⁴⁶ enabled the interaction with a larger audience most particularly Mozambicans. The records of the workshop were posted online sharing each contributor's interpretations, perspectives and appropriations. Expanding Capulanar to wider networks (as facebook) allowed a larger interaction with the project from the general public including Mozambique and Lisbon. This platform became a privileged space of expression for this new virtual community to exchange and confront inputs and cultural values.

²⁴⁵ Available at <https://www.facebook.com/Capulanar-633749629990002/timeline/>

²⁴⁶ Available at <https://capulanar.wordpress.com>

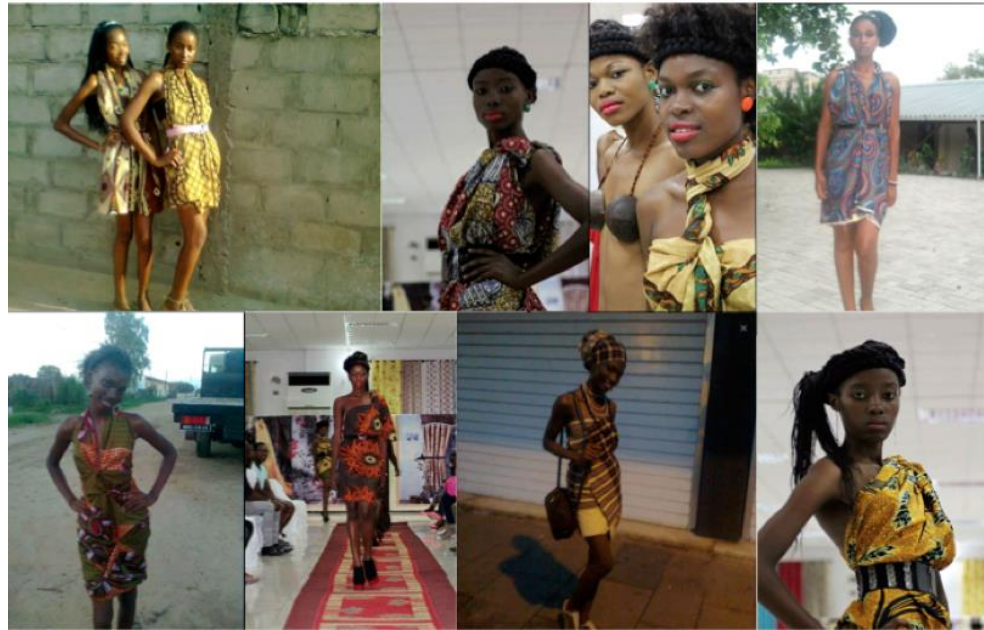


Figure 7.9: Examples of images sent and published by different on-line contributors to Capulanar's Facebook platform:
<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Capulanar/633749629990002>.

7.4. Capulanar: Results' Analysis and Conclusive Factors of Success

The formative and co-creative nature of this specific action attested not only the involvement of the African community in Lisbon – from which a group of 4 young women were selected – but also strengthened my understanding about the way such co-designing collaborative work could successfully originate new design proposals updating capulana's suitability without losing its traditional Mozambican (and East African) fashion aesthetics based on draping and wrapping techniques. This project stressed how traditional cultural values can be entwined and regarded in D4S creative processes and propose new perspectives on identity building at the same time. Under the scope of Sustainability, the theoretical and practical contents developed within Capulanar have allowed me to: (1) grasp contemporaneity in tradition through capulana's cultural concepts; (2) encourage (cross)cultural and (inter)generational contacts; and (3) establish deeper dialogues and places (and time) for sharing new co- design practices like the Forums of Dialogue and Creative Labs. More deeply, Capulanar educational results enable me to bridge significant assertions on such greater domains of Culture, Creativity and Identity here contemplated through other ways of dressing capulana. The insights from this project have a major contribution on my thesis highlighting discourses about the emergence of a new creativity already present in African cities (like Maputo) and in Diaspora contexts (such as Lisbon). The results from the design practices carried out by students from the fashion field were later integrated in other urban contexts.

Another factor of success of Capulanar was the chain of communication that was opened by this project amongst many different participants and contributors.

From the strong messages shared throughout the creative working process the meaningfulness became explicit. In connecting the act of (re)co-designing a specific fashion-able product from a traditional capulana to a potential user's experience designers and wearers could attach to a set of highly important values like family, respect, community, and women empowerment now newly reframed between intrinsic tradition and contemporaneity. And because such new co-design approaches were centered on a co-operative initiative, they were able to challenge the conventional hierarchical fashion approach usually associated with (Western) production and marketing realms. On the contrary, here it is the value of Slow-fashion embedding each person's contribution in both design process and final product that is emphasized. Affectivity is herein, sustainably, a major value that connects the maker with the product and, ultimately, with its final user. And because each capulana can be worn draped and wrapped in multiple ways, a single piece of cloth can serve and suit many different garments. Thus implies Slow-fashion and thus contemplates sustainability at its core.

By raising awareness for issues like cultural vitality and identity renovation, this project also contributed for the performance of practical experiments that reinforced and insisted on the importance of networking this type of identity building creative dynamics, here contextualized to urban areas. Against our initial expectations, the bigger feedback to this open source design did not come from the group of emergent Mozambican women designers living in the diaspora, but rather from all around Mozambique. Till April 2018 the largest contribution to the Capulanar's online platform came from the Maputo and Beira urban areas (see Fig.7.8). This fact lead me to conclude that most Mozambican women living in the diaspora, at least, capulana is rather worn in its uncut draped form, occasionally, in social ceremonies, family festivities or as weekends' official apparel; used as a national cultural symbol of Mozambiqueness. In spite of everyday fashion practices with results like those from Capulanar in Maputo and Beira still ought to have a bigger echo in the diaspora community, the demand for capulana-made clothing has raised since the first workshop in 2012. Thus justifying, in my point of view, the implementation of training and creative co-learning platforms like Capulanar and EPAT in the diaspora context. Here, apparently, the challenges associated with the relationship between the variables cloth-as-a-manifestation-of-the-Self and cloth-as-a-manifestation-of-culture mirror the way how creative processes are intimately related to social and cultural constructions, and how significantly that allows the shaping of one's identity.

Finally, Capulanar, as an open source design, can be a favourable platform to co-create products that can be used as beneficial leverage to position the ethos of Mozambican fashion designers wanting to go of the fitted Western based silhouettes, trends and whims.



Figure 7.10: Image used as cover-photo of Capulanar practical work project. Photography by Alipio Padilha

Chapter 8 Summary

Capulana is a Mozambican rectangular cotton cloth usually measuring between 1.65m and 1.90m long for 1m to 1.10m wide. It is machine printed in bright colours with distinctive pattern designs. These vary from geometric, animal and organic motifs to actual portraits of political or religious figures. According to historical data *capulana* has its origins in mid-19th century when the production was in the hands of English and Dutch companies and its commercialization controlled by Indian traders. Only later in the 50's with the advance of Portuguese colonial economic domain, *capulanas* started to be produced in Mozambique by Texáfrica, Texmoque, Texlom and Riopelle factories. During the 15 years of civil war (1977-1992) these factories went bankrupt and production was moved to the hands of European, Indian and Chinese investors overtime. Only very recently in 2006 New Textmoque Ltd brought back the *Made in Mozambique capulanas* though not for a large scale consumption and mainly done by order, circumscribed to the Nampula region market (cft. Assunção, 2018:39).

Truth is it isn't the place of production that matters the most, but the actual moment of purchasing a *capulana* when a particular name is attributed to each cloth. It is then that a *capulana* gains its proper (codified) meaning. Contributing for shaping femininity *capulana* is not just a cloth that communicates in silence, but also used to mark very specific phases of a woman's life. Additionally, to its many functions *capulana* is an essential element of ritual sartorial, particularly worn at certain traditional dances – like the *Tufo* dance – rites of passage, wedding ceremonies, healing rituals and burial.

Concerning costume history and consumption habits, from mid-19th century *capulanas* were initially worn wrapped, draped and tied up in its uncut form, and afterwards gradually (re)translated into new tailored fitted-cut forms. This translation of the original form of sartorial into new ones broke out within the May'68 upheaval bringing a new notion of being 'modern'. This was now based on a construction of the Fashion imagery of the West herein reinterpreted by the African style. This (re)creative practice was enhanced all throughout the decades and now built upon the originality of mixing local-traditional and international-modern clothing, thus proclaiming (even in a rather more political sense) a cosmopolitan affirming African style.

Always permeable, versatile and adaptable, *capulana* is the object of what I call in this thesis a "moving tradition". A tradition that is solid, yet not static, but dynamically adjusting to the many daily and historically influences throughout times. Till today, whether in its original context or in the diaspora, both uncut and cut forms of *capulana* are used. The uncut form, however, is seen by today's younger generations as too old fashion and so, not conforming to 21st century modern purposes that the cut form offers to their sense of fashion and styling.

This research project looked for D4S methodologies that could capture both functionally and symbolically those exact dynamics of the traditional versatility characteristic of the (un)cut *capulana*. More specifically, the research and study-cases, focused on the potential behind those creative actions that, in my opinion, can revitalize and reinforce what I name the fashion-able (re)usage of this fabric and, at the same time, its association with a sense of being 'modern' African.

This same notion was used to idealize, plan and carry two distinctive co-design pedagogical programs: the educational platform for African tailors (EPAT) and the *Capulanar* creative labs for Young African Women (fashion designers). Two different working groups were challenged to reconnect with the rooting meaningfulness of a *capulana* while redefining and proposing their own respective,

cut and uncut, technical and/or artistic interpretations of the cloth. This challenge raised a new awareness, or self-consciousness, towards the immense creative potential behind a *capulana* and most specially, to the participants' affinity to African heritage and identity reinforcement in a diaspora context.

This relation between *capulana* and identity building asked, in fact, for a deeper insight into the history of the South-eastern African textile, forasmuch as into its historical material cultural role linking past, present and future dress practices. An initial research took hence a close look at *capulana*'s birth on the African shores of the Indian Ocean. This first approach was fundamental to better understand not only the emergence of earlier designs, forms and motives and its durability throughout the decades, but mainly to identify the ways these same silhouettes have been appropriated into everyday fashions by tailors and designers alike. Data collection from bibliographic research and *coolhunting* evidenced that these two groups are the major key players in mediating (transforming, translating, distorting and modifying) *capulana*'s tradition into 'modern' forms and to the identity it expresses so resiliently. Timely, this approach had me wonder:

In a D4S perspective, how can everyday fashion based on *capulana*'s tradition contribute to reinforce identity processes and support cultural sustainability in the Diaspora?

This key question translated itself, in turn, into several approaches aimed at legitimating the position of *capulana*-based-clothing into the realm of everyday (African and non-African) fashion in a way that might strengthen identity and support sustainability. Observing that both tailors and designers may take the lead in turning traditional dress forms into innovative applications, the two study cases targeted exactly (1) African tailors and (2) emergent African women fashion designers from the diaspora community around the Lisbon area. Based on the Participatory Action Research developed thru the EPAT and *Capulanar* case studies, my thesis finally concludes that if we use the Cultural knowledge from these main agents in *capulana*'s innovation, we may be able to re-think the potential fashion-ability of the cloth and also propose results that can mirror the affirmation of African identity. *Capulana*'s Slow-fashion, Co-design and Affectivity cultural concepts are therefore essential guidelines to develop sustainable solutions around the re-usage of the cloth – in its, more or less, traditional forms – and the fragile chains of design, production and consumption, specially, by younger generations of consumers.

From formal ground to D4S practices

Capulana has emerged from the richness of the cross-cultural textile trading and clothing exchange in the Indian Ocean World, herein becoming significantly important in social relations, cultural behaviours and identity building. Time and again, the cloth's printing designs and forms revealed that those changes were subjected to different cycles of fashion-ability. Remarkably, the designs were not imposed by foreign influence but prone to all local, regional, social and commercial trends within the IOW.

The range of *capulana* images in Chapter 2 clearly illustrates how those designs and silhouettes have been continuously (re)invented creating not only a sense of belongingness and identity, but also stimulating local (and transnational) consumption. All the study behind the "Observatory of the Past: Unveiling *Capulana*'s History" helped understanding that *capulana* is located right at the centre of the South-eastern African fashion system with its own cycles, trends and prices. Following this thread of analysis, the historical overview led to the conclusion that if *capulana* is to be considered a traditional cloth, then the concept of tradition is, apparently, of an oxymoron in nature. If tradition

is commonly associated with a permanence of non-changing habits and predictability, then *capulana*'s dynamic traditions prove otherwise. They move on. From mid-1800s to this day this cloth's designs (patterns and forms) have been constantly updated to conform to new purposes, needs and motivations. Indeed, *capulana* has become a synonym of social and political statements renewal within fashion and tailoring. The epistemic contribution of my research work aimed precisely to highlight this renewing essential particularity that lies both in *capulana*'s traditional features and in its continuous present-day novelty.

In "observatory of the present", visual data from historical research and *coolhunting* in Maputo support my assumption that *capulana* has always embedded in itself the core (cultural) concepts of Slow-fashion, Co-design and Affectivity that a designer for sustainability recognizes as fundamental for the re-conception of a fashion-able product. Slow-fashion is linked to the cloth's versatility. Meaning that the same *capulana* can be worn as a dress but also used in many daily life situations as a towel, as a veil, a bed-cover, a baby's sling, or in any other life eventuality from birth to death. Co-design is related to the collaborative process of making new patterns between retailers, *mamas* and even with people from social and political high ranks. This Co-design process assures the survival of each specific new pattern in the market. Affectivity is translated thru the emotional relationship each woman has with each *capulana* stored in her "dowry" chest, forasmuch as thru the special meaning each cloth is charged with. Passed on from generation to generation, a *capulana* may be offered, kept, stored, lost, borrowed, swapped, but never trashed.

These three same concepts were thereupon adapted to a D4S practice as analytical axes and design tools to guide the creative labs done with the two focus groups between 2011 and 2012. In this case, affectivity is expressed in the way tailors and designers respectively cared for and related to the cloth establishing the profitable kind of emotional bounds essential to a sustainable production and consumption (cft. Fletcher: 2008). In its turn, Co-design refers to the participatory actions that comprehended contributions from both trainer and trainees (tailors and designers) in the conception and development of the two workshops. And Slow-fashion was present in the actual outcome of each creative lab. Whereas with *Capulanar* it was observed in the fact that a single piece of cloth has the potential of being dressed in at least 10 possible ways (as the KIT shows); with EPAT the concept was identified in the actual sensitivity to the speed for manufacturing one-of-a-kind clothing. Finally, both case studies' results confirmed new 'formulas' of fashion-ability that mix an array of differentiating clothes-forms that show personalized interpretations of fashion and style. One way and the other, we realised that this D4S approach (even if more conceptual) promotes what Fletcher (2008) defends as holistic thinking and causal chains of responsibility while observing slower rhythms of design, production and consumption, and thus less waste.

Capulana has become a synonym not only of *Mozambiqueness*, but also in a broader sense of *Africanitude* suggesting a strongly embodied sense of (trans)national identity printed on an actual piece of fabric. African tailors and designers use it till today as a metaphor of belongingness to African culture and its moving traditions. But a dress made from a *capulana* is not only a fashionable dress. It is also the material-cultural expression of a process of (re)creation, development and change. A process that includes in itself the merging of forms, colours, signs, designs, messages, history and life-stories, memories, and so on. Nowadays, behind the traditional usage of *capulana* there are current fashion trends that associate the cloth with a larger range of creative practices that combine the very act of conception and production with the actual ways of

dressing, buying, selling, giving, keeping and showing (but never discarding) a *capulana*.

Fieldwork observations highlighted a complex visual sartorial panorama harmonizing tradition (i.e. the uncut *capulana*) the fragmentation of that 'tradition' (i.e. *capulana* mixed with other ready-to-wear clothes) and a mix of clothing that comes from everywhere including SHC. It is evident that the creation of new styles manifests a constant reconfiguration, reinterpretation and interrogation of dress practices and, thus in my D4S perspective, potentiates challenges for fashion-ability.

Practical results from study-cases 1 (EPAT) and 2 (*Capulanar*) demonstrated that when raising their awareness to the key-concepts of Co-design, Slow-fashion and Affectivity thru a hands-on-work on the cloth, African tailors and emergent women fashion designers are applying their cultural knowledge with a different creative consciousness. *Capulana* is thereupon used as a visual tool (a source of inspiration) as well as a raw material in the making of new (cut and uncut) dress forms, innovatively.

By doing so tailors and designers are acknowledging the importance of the cloth as a collective cross-cultural symbol that reinforces the values of belongingness, resilience and, thus the shaping of *being* African. In a D4S perspective, this means that the more we recognize such cultural knowledge in these everyday fashion-able practices, the more sustainable they become. Daily and continuously updated they maintain *capulana* as part of a greater cultural heritage.

From daily creative practices to the action research case studies:

Apparently in Mozambique *capulana* is part of the daily creative practices. In Lisbon, however faced with geographical separation and nostalgia, usage of African textiles and traditional African clothing in general triggers a different creative sense of being African.

Tailors

Answering sub-question one: *how can the role of African tailors – whether in Maputo or Lisbon – be described?* Research results had concluded that tailors are one of the two main agents actively involved in the production of new patterns and models, thus playing an important role in reinventing *capulana*'s fashions. They possess the historical know-how about the cloth and how to reshape it into new forms of clothing, and so their endogenous knowledge also acts as a cultural (re)generator. Fieldwork observations in both Maputo and Lisbon made me realise that being an African tailor means preserving a traditional craftsmanship as well as a remodeller of Western clothes. With skills strongly rooted in tradition they adjust to modern fashion trends and to the wishes of their clientele including fashion designers.

In spite of tailoring craftsmanship being a considerable part of the national cultural heritage and as such widely recognized by society for their significant mediating role in daily production and consumption practices, their profession lacks institutional recognition by policy-makers, considerably. The informal *apprentice-master* model traditionally followed by tailors is not valued as an integral or relevant component of the formal educational system. Overall, tailors strive for getting the right accreditation that will eventually grant them official recognition and better living and working conditions, if not in Maputo, elsewhere in the diaspora.

During my interviews in Lisbon, when confronted with this issue, tailors confessed that what they needed the most was to improve their skills and specific know-

how, specially, in measuring, pattern design and finishing techniques. This request made me think and propose a co-design training program that would strengthen their vocation and employability. On the other hand, even though in Lisbon, the majority of their customers are Africans (afro descendants and members of the African migrant community) immigrant tailors' network allows them to easily adapt their know-how to other non-African tastes and style demands. Their clientele includes customers from Portugal, China and Brazil. However, I was able to observe in Maputo, and then later on in Lisbon, that those masters and apprentices – that generally work on a custom-made-order basis – are normally limited to the client's specific whims, and thus likely to have fewer chances to develop their own creativity.

Action Research: Case Study I

Regarding the second sub-question *how can tailoring be re-appropriated by a 'formal' education system in order to upgrade knowledge and skills of African tailors in Lisbon?* The answer was found in the Educational Platform for African Tailors (EPAT) training program co-designed and developed to empower, both technically and creatively, as many African tailors as the program's selecting criteria allowed. Experiential learning and individual growth were motivated by an integrated process that began with a here-and-now experience, followed up by data collection and final observations and evaluations from the trainees about their own experience. Data were then analysed and its results shared with the participants. This approach contributed to strengthen their technical skills as well as to solidify their creative confidence. I opted for a course syllabus that included the three core concepts of Co-design, Slow-fashion and Affectivity and adapted to the tailors' interests and needs. Ultimately, the goal was to include, update and empower their rich knowledge in tailoring while bringing renewed élan and identity to their immigrant community.

The EPAT brought added value to tailors' learning skills in all subject areas. As the final evaluation illustrated, the new material was considered by the students to be highly important for developing the knowledge they had previously acquired as tailors. The evaluation among the participants showed the general success of the entire continuing education and accreditation program. Eventually, the EPAT was prised as a valuable asset for professional integration and social inclusion in the fashion industry job market.

In this process co-learning was achieved, on one side, because students could learn new technical skills, develop new creative and aesthetic assessment technics and empowerment; and on the other side, trainers could learn how to feel the cloth, enhance the right affection towards the actual experience of working (with) this fabric and how to overcome the fear of failing in cutting the pattern off the fabric.

At the end, media attention through TV, magazines and broadcasting gave visibility to the tailors' work and reality, as well as to my own research project. This contributed eventually to activate the economic perspective of this action. Tailors had more demands for services and I could start 'AAA: *Atelier Alfaiates Africanos*' (i.e. African Tailors Atelier) – a multi-level working platform meant for tailors to be able to provide tailoring services, improve their own technical and creative skills, as well as to enlarge the network of customers, suppliers and other stakeholders interested in African Fashion, African fabrics, and sustainable clothing production.

Emergent African Fashion Designers

Current creative practices in Maputo and Lisbon show in fact that emergent Mozambican fashion designers are using *capulana* as a major raw material on their collections, giving it a new meaning towards transcending what they call their “traditional national boundaries”. This means a choice that combines imported fabrics with African cloths like *capulana*, *kanga*, *kitenge*, batik, tie-and-dye, etc. Through this melting pot of fabrics designers blend clothing styles that are particularly keen to African dress aesthetics nonetheless drawing on the vocabulary of international fashion. Fieldwork interviews testified that Mozambican fashion also tends to be increasingly product driven, design focused, and potentially inspired by global narratives focused around and about what is considered to be of fashion and fashionable.

In spite of the constant re-conceptualization of traditional forms of dress to re-think and at the same time update African cultural heritage, in general, and the traditional draping techniques, in particular, Mozambican designers have, apparently, abandoned the essence of wearing *capulana* in its original uncut form draped, wrapped and tied up around the body. In a more commercial approach they opt instead for exploring tailored forms in their collections, rather than conceptually inspired in tradition. This involves a process of deconstruction of Westernization that one might be able to write, tell and analyse the history of African sartorial itself. Rather skipping a singular [Western] like narrative, these designers add a substantially rich discourse well grounded in their specific cultural knowledge. This fourth dimension of D4S implies a sense of self and collective recognition, authenticity and authorship that, in my point of view, supports the shaping of identity and of sustainable fashion solutions.

Action Research: Case Study 2

For my second case study main research question *how can the traditional way of wearing capulana – as a rectangle of fabric – be updated in order to reintroduce it in contemporary African sartorial?* Possible answers first came from a photograph I took during my fieldwork in Maputo of a young Mozambican woman wearing *capulana* combined with western clothing in what I thought to be the ultimate fashion-able style (see figure 3.21). This photo served later on as the main inspiration for a small workshop in Maputo with four emergent Mozambican fashion designers and one tailor, and took techniques of draping, wrapping and tying *capulana* as a starting point. Inspired by this workshop, and seeking to understand the full potentiality of that specific dressing techniques, I later opted to apply it to the second case study project in Lisbon and in a one-week workshop program at the Portuguese University of Beira Interior (UBI) attended by ten Design students. Ultimately, these activities gave me preliminary inputs for possible new forms of draping the cloth. Still needing to get a closer and privileged knowledge on how *capulana* is used on the diaspora context, I organized the ‘Forums of Dialogue’ in Lisbon. The overall intention of these gatherings was to listen to people’s sharing of the many possible ways *capulana* can be worn and what and why, when and where does it represent. For the majority of Mozambicans living in a diaspora context, they keep a strong connection to *capulana*, wearing it as a symbol of cultural belongingness and national identity, emotionally bonding with the traditional cloth. But this uncut cloth is not worn in everyday fashion but mostly in social ceremonies, family festive occasions or as weekends’ official apparel. Finally, both Maputo and UBI workshops and the ‘Forums of Dialogue’ were the fundamental input for case study 2, *Capulanar*.

This last creative lab took place in Lisbon at my own atelier with a group of four young African women for three months between July 25th and September 27th

2015. Out of the four young women invited to join *Capulanar*, three were emergent fashion designers and had participated in the second workshop at UBI, and the fourth one a student from an Arts' school. Here my main goal was to follow up with the results gathered at the first two workshops (Maputo and UBI) and to explore innovative solutions on *capulana*'s uncut (draped, wrapped and tied up) forms. At the same time, the challenge was to apply different design methods that acknowledge this cloth as a contemporary idiosyncratic piece of African sartorial that can promote identity and cultural vitality to Mozambican emergent generations. This co-designing working process enabled not only a new experience of wearing the cloth in 10 different uncut silhouettes but also contributed to raise the affection of younger generations of designers and wearers towards the material, visual and cultural meaningfulness of a *capulana*.

The results of the workshop experiences were recorded and shared online, divulging personal interpretations, perspectives and appropriations of each contributor. Extending the *Capulanar* initiative to the broader domain of social networks (in this case Facebook) allowed in turn for a wider interaction among the general public with the project, from Mozambique to Lisbon. A deeper evaluation of this creative lab revealed however an apparent contradiction to my original expectations. An unbalance between the lack of response from the diaspora community and a full feedback from young women in Mozambique led me to re-evaluate the expected impact of *capulanar* action research. Whereas in Mozambique the habit of wearing *capulana* is proudly incorporated in all sorts of daily dressing routines (e.g. as a headscarf, a turban, a skirt, a baby-sling, or just a cloth for any daily need, eventually combined with Western clothing) in the diaspora Lisbon area Mozambican women tend to carry the cloth with them, but do not wear it all the time, but only on special occasions like social ceremonies, festivals, family gatherings or weekend *official* apparel. Thus the impact of *Capulanar* was null here. In the diaspora context those dress practices are apparently muffled, or just not as evident as it would be expected since in one place and in the other *capulana* always implies *Mozambiqueness*. Could this unbalance mean a cultural gap between Mozambique and the diaspora? Or rather an interpretation of how to wear the iconic cloth solely at private occasions directly related with the community?

Nevertheless, by taking the versatility of the uncut cloth into new levels of innovative applications, experiential co-learning design labs like *Capulanar* help to reaffirm cultural knowledge as the main creative axis for fashion designers to explore D4S solutions for the eventual generational gaps around *capulana*'s fashion-ability. On the other hand, as an open source design *Capulanar* can also be a favourable platform to co-create products that can be used as a differentiating factor in the positioning of Mozambican fashion designers within a wider sustainable fashion system.

Chapter 9 Conclusions and Future Work

In order to answer the main research question in my thesis, i.e. how to reinforce identity and cultural sustainability by ways of *capulana*-based everyday fashion, I made use of a mixed-methods approach. From an historical analysis to participatory action research, from qualitative to quantitative research, all these methods were necessary to show the many perspectives of my topic. Many issues were raised and many questions are still to be answered. Thus a good reason to reflect on some of them in order to stimulate the discussion about what we can learn from this research and how we can continue challenging issues related to identity, cultural differences and sustainability.

Education model

My work introduces a pioneering debate that tries to bridge the gap between Western and African fashion. As the research illustrates, it co-creates a conjugation between the two systems and promotes a co-learning approach alternative to the formal Western educational model.

When I initiated this research, nine years ago, I introduced this approach of non-formal co-production labs in formal learning environments such as the University of Beira Interior and Modatex, as an innovative and fruitful challenge in Portugal. Ideally, such an approach should be extended to other graduate design schools, implementing a series of workshops that, in spite of the formal academic frame, can provoke structural changes from within the learning context and experience, a platform on which all stakeholders learn with and from each other.

In both *Capulanar* and EPAT we learnt that the fabric is taken as a form of belongingness – the African cloths as a cultural anchor –, and no matter how many cycles of fashionability the printed patterns go through, they seem to grab and regenerate identity in a dynamic and interactive way. These co-creative experiences also bring a learning curve for both Western designers and scholars. It is the opportunity to look at different unconventional dynamics of production and consumption that resourcefully use the ephemeral lifespan of daily products, not as an end but as a beginning by making something “new” through what is called in recent Western D4S Slow-fashion discourse: renovation, up-cycling and recycling.

In short, my research opens up a path to understand how Western fashion still has so much to learn from the many African realities like Maputo’s or African diaspora, with their idiosyncratic behavior and attitude towards dress practices.

The dominance of Western thinking

Overall, and from the beginning, my true intentions have always been to move away from a Eurocentric perspective towards an African standpoint; though since I am not Mozambican my insights might be taken differently. This intentional research approach, whether it were the ethnographic studies in Maputo or the interviews with tailors in both Maputo and Lisbon, were all focused on understanding the actual context in which these dress practices occur. It was the only way to develop and implement a continuous technical training program in order to respond to several needs addressed by the group of tailors in Lisbon. Together with the tailors, we identified the most important necessities and gaps in the area of tools and methodological procedures that, according to them, would increase their ability to respond more effectively and with better quality to fashion

market demands, production and consumption. In that sense, the proposed training plan was meant to coach professional tailors in identifying and developing the creative visual research skills that could be used as base for building a piece of clothing from a *capulana*. Similarly, the necessity of empathizing with Mozambican emergent women designers became also obvious in developing *Capulanar* about the manifold ways of draping, wrapping and tying a *capulana*, later re-created in the form of creative labs. If it wasn't for my ethnographic exploratory studies in Maputo, I could hardly have been able to implement and run these creative labs in Lisbon.

In one case or the other, tailors and designers are the researchers themselves. In both cases mentioned above, it was from an intensive sharing of know-hows and inspirational drives that an amazing co-creative and interactive work was successfully done. Be it either myself as researcher, facilitator and designer, or the tailors, or the emergent designers, we were all involved in a co-design co-learning experience.

Production of Capulana: back to the roots?

Although the industrial production of *capulanas* has been for the last two decades in the hands of foreign, non-Mozambican private companies, it is my belief that nowadays it would be rather advantageous for Mozambicans to recuperate a locally owned production of their traditional cloth. How? An option could be that government, public and private stakeholders together could agree on the implementation of new, economically sustainable, measures and, socially responsible, political incentive actions – from tax breaks to special credit plans – to attract a greater number of investors interested in rebooting a whole financial, commercial, social and, most specially, cultural network of services and interactions. The enormous potential of *capulana* resides, hitherto, in the fact that this traditional cloth has been draped, tailored and wore by so many generations for so long, that amidst all historical upheavals, it resiliently became such an iconographic landmark of Mozambique's cultural heritage.

Hence, on a sustainable design development ground, this investment in nationally designed and produced *capulanas* would most likely bring several social, cultural and, not the least, economical advantages to the local sartorial market as well as to the country's textile industry. It is about retrieving the essence of the traditional way consumer and producer used to work in the past within a closer (more creative and more interactive) circuit involving both conception and production of a *capulana*.

Because this is still a local phenomenon, on a daily basis anchored in a one-to-one social interaction, a unique business bond exists. This bond makes it a sustainable business. The more the client is involved in the making of the cloth the more the maker will eventually profit. And when the client him/herself is involved in the next collection's print patterns and pallets there is less indifference and detachment from the final product.

Therefore, bringing back the end user to participate in the initial creative process is, for me, an essential condition for Mozambican local sartorial market to survive. Whether this means protecting the involvement of a traditional target group of buyers such as the *mamas*, tailors, as well as any other random regular (non-specialized) purchasers; or challenging Mozambican fashion designers, a more specialized group, to create new print patterns and pallets exclusive to the company in charge; in that way counteracting today's reality of having most of *capulanas* orders made in China, India, Indonesia or even in Europe, rather than in Mozambique.

From a sustainable perspective, preserving the authenticity of such idiosyncratic textile should be located there where it is culturally and socially deeply rooted, instead of designing and producing it elsewhere. This does not happen, not because Mozambican creators prefer to work with fabrics (often of lower quality for higher cost) made outside the country, but because for locally made Mozambican *capulanas* there hasn't been enough initiative to promote the right investment for the right reason at the right time. Fashion designers like Taibo Bacar and Omar Adelino, for instance, have had no other option than getting their respective brands' production of print patterns outside of Mozambique, and not locally like they truly wish.

From an economic perspective, reducing the geographic gap by bringing client and maker physically closer together, gives less waste and less loss of textile while lowering the costs of transportation and distribution. Avoiding the import of textile, and an eventual increase of export, could well result in a fairer price and a better accessibility for the end-user of *capulanas*.

Another important advantage to consider is the fact that bringing back the production to Mozambique would also raise the employability rate in sectors, directly and indirectly related to the textile industry, graphic and artistic design and printing services. Governmental initiatives could be made to help reintegrate old workers from textile factories into new working teams, using their know-how as a major asset for guaranteeing the quality of the product, but also in continuous training of other new employees.

From a cultural perspective, Mozambicans, whether being actual purchasers of *capulanas* or not, do not necessarily feel their *Mozambiqueness* truly expressed by a supposedly traditional cloth that is mainly being made anywhere else except in their own country. Till this day there are thousands of *capulanas* produced abroad after a mere imitation of what non-Mozambican, or non-African, designers and manufacturers believe African people would buy. Finally, from an ecological point of view, all the cloths unsold become waste.

Tailors as bearers of culture and the development of identity and self-respect

From the group of tailors that I've worked with, there are two distinctive groups: one that I interviewed in Maputo and the other that I interviewed in Lisbon area. The first group of tailors had no academic certification and no particular mention was made to the need of further technical education. In turn, it was the group of African tailors interviewed in Lisbon who identified the urgent need to pursue technical requalification training that would put them at a higher level of competitiveness in European working market standards. Because they have no *formal* school training, nor any certification, and so they cannot show physical proof of their actual professional (and sometimes academic) background necessary to get a job in the fashion industry. Although they may be registered as professional tailors, they often feel their knowledge is behind the creative and technical levels the contemporary sartorial market demands. For that reason EPAT was created.

At the end of the EPAT, we were able to observe an overall sense of pride, self-achievement, individual and inter-peer recognition and respect within the group of trainees acknowledgeable of the investment, effort and time worth spending on the training program. Although a follow-up study would have given us a deeper insight into the actual impact of this technical and creative training on each participant's outcome, either individually or in the group every participant experienced a general sense of belongingness and connection to each own's identity regardless of their specific background and origin. Whether that happened with the final presentation of their work exhibited at the National

Costume Museum in Lisbon, with media coverage of the EPAT and the exhibition itself; or by the participation of some tailors in the 2015 and first edition of the MODAAFRICA – Eth(n)ical Fashion Week via AAA – African Tailors Atelier .

It is noteworthy to point out here that such observations of an eventual further development of identity and self-respect, cannot be necessarily related with the actual use of *capulanas* by the EPAT's tailors in their projects, since some chose to work with the Mozambican cloth, and others with other types of fabrics, thus concluding that not all assumed the *capulana* as synonym of their African identity, Mozambican or not.

In spite of some difficulties, the AAA project is still running, offering an educational and professional platform that aims to support the tailors' employability. Every year, depending on the number of tailors-trainees interested and registered, a new training program like the EPATs could be opened. As of now, we are negotiating with Modatex Textile Trade School in Lisbon the possibility to launch new shorter specializing programs, strategically aimed to provide trainees with an up-grading recycling of contents learnt on previous 2011 and 2013 editions, thus allowing students to broaden, refine and redefine even more their know-how, skills and goals alike.

Emergent African designers

The more designers portray a dialog between tradition and modernity the more their collections can mirror their understanding of the past and the kind of awareness that boosts [national] identity without compromising uniqueness and individuality. *Capulanas* alone, for instance, can offer a whole valuable knowledge about Mozambican historical-cultural-material heritage beyond the actual physical draping or cutting of the cloth itself. The majority of Mozambican designers are using *capulana* with a conscious intention to manifest *Mozambiqueness*. But here is the challenge: can emergent designers go beyond the usage of *capulana* just as a fabric, the cloth to make clothing? Or can they start looking at it in a more abstract, conceptual way as a source of inspiration that translates the emotional expressiveness imbued with the feeling of belongingness and *Mozambiqueness*? Emergent African designers should not let themselves be tagged by common current stereotypes of what African Fashion should be.

The role of museums and local authorities

I share the opinion that beyond their core mission of preserving as much cultural and historical heritage for the sake of past, present and future generations, museums can and should also be excellent learning centers for supporting non-formal pedagogical and socio-cultural activities for a wide range of school ages, backgrounds and interests, preferably involving partnerships with local governmental agencies, other museums, private and public companies, as well as with non-profit associations and NGOs.

Creative research centers (inter)actively running at or by museums (partnering with local schools, universities, institutes) could bring fresher insights and new interests, and thus more investment, to the cultural-material immensity of traditional and contemporary African Design. And whether that research work is specifically on a *capulana*, or on every other African textile, museums are likely the institution that could better respond to the urgency of involving local and non-local, African and non-African communities and general public in their initiatives.

Till this day, the barren solutions presented by either governmental or non-governmental entities within the greater Lisbon area have not been sufficiently

feasible to assure a regular financial autonomy of the AAA (African Tailors Atelier). It has been frustrating to find any public or private funding that would support the start-up costs of the physical infrastructures, preliminary marketing actions, publicity and back-office, in order to guarantee at least the first volume of orders with enough revenue to secure all job positions at the Atelier and, in the long run, the real sustainability of the project itself.

Contribution and further research

I hope to offer yet another perspective to the role of social awareness and sustainability in the field of fashion design. A perspective that highlights how collaborative creative design processes may contribute to fulfil the need for socially responsible actions. Actions, that enhance individual capability for further 'self-making' (in the sense of identity-building; personhood; autonomy; hope and wellbeing) and 'place making' (in the sense of belongingness; livelihood; behaviour and social skills). More particularly, I wanted to strengthen the self-esteem of both African tailors and fashion designers and their place in sustainable fashion industry as key players in preserving the cultural core values of Slow-fashion, Co-design and Affectivity.

Further research

- Deliberately chosen as an Open Source Design, 'Capulana creative platform' may be taken to further levels of practical application. This could be done by 'resurrecting' the original way of dressing uncut *capulana* (explored with draping kits one and two) to higher levels of difficulty expanding the many possibilities allowed by the "Golden Rectangle".
- It is my goal to replicate and adapt the EPAT program to other educational frameworks in different African countries in order to observe, evaluate and verify if and how such a training program would be as effectively in an African context as it was in the diaspora setting in Lisbon. And, to develop a continuous education program aimed to recycle and upgrade technical knowledge previously acquired at the initial EPAT.
- In which way could the AAA – African Tailors Atelier – become a cooperative or, in the literal sense, an autonomous association of craftsmen gathered to satisfy common economical, social and cultural needs and aspirations, fostering more and more contributors and collaborators?
- At a post-doctoral level, my goal would be to identify other realities where, like in Maputo, current fashion and local clothing production are showing that designers/stylists and tailors make use of these *cloths* as a major (re)source of inspiration to (re)shape, develop and represent a genuine sense of *fashion-ability* embodied in what is being called an *Afropolitan* style. Brief, in which way can sustainability be part of these creative processes, implicitly.

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Appendix A The script of the interviews about capulana

The script of the interviews is described below:

1. What does capulana mean for you?
2. How many capulanas do you have?
3. Have you brought your capulanas when you left Mozambique?
4. Who taught you how to wear a capulana? (In case of a female interviewee with children). Did you teach your daughters)?
5. Do you think that capulana tradition is threatened? If yes what are the reasons?
6. What is the message that you would have stamped in a capulana?
7. What is your motivation in the purchase? The colour? The drawing? Because a friend has an equal one? The novelty in the market?
8. The capulana in the Marriage and the lovolo ceremony. What does it mean for you?
9. The capulana regarding the rituals in the event of death, why is it important?
10. Do you consider capulana as a fashionable item?
11. Will you use capulana as textile raw material or as a base for an array of multiple other dress-forms?
12. Do you feel International or global when you use capulana as a base for clothing or creativity?
13. How do you incorporate Western aesthetics with capulana?

Appendix B Tailors Structured Interviews

Interviews' Data Recollection:

During the course of the program at Modatex, several interviews were made other ones were done at the tailors' working places. With the permission of the interviewees face-to-face interviews were taped as well as several other video format records. Now, we are aware that if there is a disadvantage on this type of interviewing technique that is the possibility of the interviewer having some kind of influence on the interviewee: whether that happens thru the way I formulated the questions, the type of behaviours exchanged in that established relationship, or the scope of the interview itself. However, this disadvantageous difficulty was taken into our closest attention and we tried to keep a non-biased neutral attitude at all times avoiding to influence anyway how the interviewees' answers. An interview-guide was previously elaborated and includes the following questions:

At your country of origin:

- 1) When did you become a tailor apprentice?
- 2) Have you continued or interrupted your studies?
- 3) Who was your master and where did you learn tailoring?
- 4) Have you chosen your master or did he choose you?
- 5) Is your master a role model for you?
- 6) Did you have to prove having some kind of skills to your master? And has he made you do some kind of 'test' before you start learning with him?
- 7) What were your daily functions as an apprentice?
- 8) What was the first thing you learned with your master?
- 9) Can you describe what you did?
- 10) Did you simply watch what your master was doing or did he let you run some errands? If yes, what were these tasks?
- 11) How many months passed after you started at his workshop till he asked you for more specialized tasks?
- 12) How was the competition among apprentices?
- 13) Were there any more apprentices or were you alone with your master? How did your master taught you?
- 14) What did your master teach you to build? Skirts? Pants? Tunics?
- 15) Was there any order in this learning? How was that processed?
- 16) What did your master teach you in the first place? And then what came next?
- 17) Were there specific patterns being copied?
- 18) Which were the levels of the learning tests?
- 19) Draw and cut. Who did it? You or your master? When did he charge you of cutting a piece of clothing? Do you remember that first time? What did you feel?
- 20) Has your learning as a tailor been also a school of life? Did knowledge transfer take place at any other level?

Transition to master tailor:

- 1) How long did it take your intern apprenticeship?
- 2) At what age did you become a master-tailor?
- 3) What was the first piece of clothing you made? Do you remember?
- 4) Did you reproduce models that have been already made by your master? Or

did you create new models from what you had learned?

- 5) Where did you establish your first workshop? Was that in Africa? Or did you just get your own established here in Lisbon?

Immigration process:

- 1) When did you arrive in Portugal?
- 2) Did you come directly to Lisbon or were you in other countries before?
- 3) How many languages do you speak besides your native language?
- 4) How did you develop your workshop?
- 5) What are your working conditions?

Clientele:

- 1) Who are your customers? Are they Africans only? Or Western as well?
- 2) What are the main differences between customers in Africa and in Portugal?
- 3) How do you feel it works the supporting system to your profession in Portugal?
- 4) And the emigration systems?
- 5) Have they given you some useful information on how to start your work as a tailor?
- 6) How do you feel it is the recognition of your knowledge/work by Portuguese society?

Appendix C: Survey about the course

It was decided that a survey for self-evaluation would be prepared in order to provide trainees' insight on individual development during the programme. Survey results were later examined in 2014.

TRAINING PROGRAM ASSESSMENT

Individual assessment of the program and its application in a work context

Qualitative survey

1 – Very Poor | 2 – Poor | 3 – Average | 4 – Good | 5 – Very Good

UNIT 1 | Individual Expression: Texture, colour and shape of a piece of clothing

1. Basic introduction to clothing design
2. Introduction to the importance of colour
3. Elementary introduction to fabric types
4. Ability to express ideas through drawing
5. Use of drawing in your daily studio work
6. Personal development / Self-evaluation

UNIT 2 | Introduction to pattern-cutting

1. Introduction to geometric concepts: angles, metrag, parallel and perpendicular lines
2. Precision in drawing a pattern for a bodice base
3. Using and handling precision rulers
4. Ability to visualize and draft a two-dimensional pattern
5. Ability to take measurements accurately
6. Calculate the perimeter of a circle skirt $P=2.\pi.r$
7. Personal development / Self-evaluation

UNIT 3 | Dress-making

1. Introduction to using darts, transferring and pivoting
2. Making different types of collars
3. Making different types of sleeves
4. Ability to transform patterns
5. Using paper patterns in your studio
6. Using mixed techniques (both patterns and experience) in your studio
7. Pattern sketching on fabric
8. Personal development / Self-evaluation

UNIT 4 | Cutting

1. Introduction to fabric cutting
2. Introduction to reducing waste when cutting fabric
3. Subject development
4. Personal development / Self-evaluation

UNIT 5 | Sewing

1. Introduction to sewing techniques
2. Rigor and precision in finishing a piece of clothing
3. Understanding how to sew a dress
4. Understanding how to sew a jacket
5. Personal development / Self-evaluation

UNIT 6 | Information Technology

1. Introduction to emails user's guide
2. Introduction to Facebook user's guide
3. Using IT in your daily work
4. Personal development / Self-evaluation

UNIT 7 | Study on types of fibers

1. Understanding the different types of fibers
2. Applying this knowledge in your studio work

Overall, how do you see your own development of understanding how a piece of clothing is created?

What is your level of satisfaction with your professional work from the moment you started this course?

How would you assess this course?

What impact has this course had in your professional life, particularly finding work placement and being involved as a citizen?

Appendix D Detailed description about the workshop at UBI

I was able to observe that most fashion design students arrive at the workshop with a gaudy idea about fashion in general, and African fashion in particular. Overall, they only had a vague relation with non-Western cultures and their fashionable sense of style portrayal. Usually students' references around non-Western fashion revolve around some embroidered luxury, ethnic glamour, fantasy and decorative exoticism. This is likely a set of ideas that has been somehow crystallized by the 'exotic' femininity at several Western runway fashion shows or fashion magazines. However, Fashion should also have the educational task 'to construct transactional and interactional sites that facilitate dialogues across all the constituencies concerned with the vicissitudes of visual meaning and cultural formations in the emerging information society.' (Sandywell & Heywood, 2012: 7).

The proposed program was aimed to mainly overlap the common 'cultural make-up' fashion system approach and develop fashion-able synergies that could increase further research readings on the eventual fashioning aspect of the cloth, as well as to explore the potentiality of capulana grounding concepts (Co-design, Slow-fashion and Affectivity). To foster moreover a dialogue between students and the resident community in Covilhã and, finally, to draw creative labs' programs that integrate a series of activities around the cultural concepts behind capulana.

With this practical work I wanted to face both the 'tradition' and the 'modernity' embedded in the visual nature of capulana and dress forms (see chapter 2: Making of a visual diary: Design Orientation and Motifs Typology). To regenerate a refreshed design approach to the 'idea' of Otherness commonly portrayed in the Western fashion system (Allman, 2004; Loughran, 2009; Rovine, 2006). In the course of time, many visual research methods were developed and applied mainly as initial sources of inspiration for the following creative projects. The book of Gaimster (2011), named 'Visual research methods in fashion', is an example that resumes such an approach. During the practice we were partly guided by chapter 7 of this book in using traditional research tools and techniques as research in libraries and archives, photography archive analysis and photography as tool for conducting research. However, my study adds a different focus, since it addresses the dialogue between fashion students and the local community in order to integrate tradition and contemporaneity, and to build bridges between communities of fashion. That asks for another method of study, one that proposes a balance between those more fundamental aims.

The program I proposed allows fashion students to experience a design approach to fashion based on a horizontal dialogue that, conceptually, uses the 'umbrellas' of cross-culture, sustainable fashion design, co-learning and communities of practice.

At the end the UBI creative lab was a cultural immersion on clothing sustained by a co-learning program, comprising different phases and complemented by capulana cultural concepts: Co-design, Slow Fashion and Affectivity.

Methodologically in a first phase, students were invited to experience a short fieldwork study on cultural environment of Covilhã, focusing on the city's history, folklore, people, popular stories, town's morphology and geography, etc. Qualitative research was then upon developed through data collection comprising historical research (web and traditional research tools) as well as interviews, traditional fabric analysis, photography and video records.

At the second phase of the workshop program constituted a 'hands-on' research

working process introduced students to the concepts behind capulana. Here, the core goal was to raise their awareness to the notion of material-cultural embodiment. Finally through their practical work they explored the capulana's rectangular shaped fabric in an array of multiple experiments. This creative challenge tigger them to find a 'new' space between the textile and the body, thus allowing to discover the immense possibilities for new forms of dressing the traditional cloth. This is the kind of learning process (according to Craik 1994: 41) that allows students to improve their own design perspectives by experimenting the ability to make fashion in different ways meanwhile after Fletcher (2008: 192) "facing Fashion as fashions, and modernity as modernities."

One of the major starting points of my research practical application, this creative lab helped open up 'another,' and more refreshing view on African fashion-able pratices. This was an experiential co-learning process that also helped students to better understand themselves as a creative persona, to actively participate with local communities in direct dialogue with them. The feedback was very positive highlighting their success in learning new skills and the will to develop them in future fashion design practices, much more sensible to traditional cultural values, eventually.

My ultimate goal was for this exercise to help new generations of fashion designers to free themselves from the pre-set-Western-fitted-cut-shapes and thus from many of the prejudicial fashion and body stereotyping Western trends. Finally, these two initial practical creative workshop projects (developed in both Maputo and Covilhã) emphasized hence the importance of having greater consideration for a fashion design that enhances the dialogue between different cultures and an educational system for learning design practices that fosters and cherish that same cross-cultural perspective at the roots of its teaching program.